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Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

JOSEPH DONATUS OKOH

Date of Birth — Date de naissance
JUNE 6th 1941

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance
NIGERIA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe
School of Educational Studies
University of Port Harcourt
Port Harcourt. NIGERIA

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

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Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse
Professor HARRY GARFINKLE

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JULIUS NYERERE'S SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

by

© JOSEPH DONATUS OKOH

A Thesis

submitted to the faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Educational Foundations

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(Signed) Joseph D. Okoh

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

P.O. Box 16,

Uromi, Bendel State

Nigeria

DATED April 11 1980

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled JULIUS NYERERE'S SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION submitted by Joseph Donatus Okoh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Harry Garfinkel
.....
Supervisor

I. Van De Faveri per HG
.....

.....

.....

.....
External Examiner

Date June 12, 1980

ABSTRACT

The cumulative writings and public addresses of Julius Kambarage Nyerere are numerous and on various subjects. But the theme which provides the center of unity and links the overall development of Nyerere's thought is that of human equality. The underlying basis of Nyerere's social philosophy is his belief in the equality of man and his optimism about the ability of man to liberate himself from the clutches of social and economic imperialism.

Soon after Independence, Nyerere had to face the inevitable task of re-assessing the socio-political philosophy of Tanzania.* Instead of a negative philosophy which consisted mainly of an indictment of colonialism, Nyerere began in 1962 to develop a comprehensive and a uniquely African ideology which he called Ujamaa.

Two major arguments are presented in this thesis. In the first place, it is argued that to examine the type of society Nyerere considers as ideal for Tanzania is to examine the concept of the type of education which will bring about the desired new classless society. From this perspective, this thesis describes the fundamental change in the approach to education which is required by Nyerere's determination to make Tanzania a socialist state. Secondly, this thesis argues that although Nyerere's lack of a highly structured style may disappoint those who prefer a more analytical and systematic form of thought, yet his down-

*The Republic of Tanganyika and the island Republic of Zanzibar merged in a union on April 26th, 1964. In October of the same year, after a competition was held to choose a new name for the United Republic, the name Tanzania was adopted. In order to reduce any confusion when dealing with the pre-1964 events, the name Tanganyika is used. Otherwise the term Tanzania as used throughout this thesis refers to both the mainland and the island.

to-earth intellectual modesty and his idealism make him a national philosopher.

Regarding the problem of social justice and national reconstruction as basically a problem of education Nyerere seeks, through the process of mass education, to raise the level of critical consciousness and to make the colonized African realise that it is only through self-reliance that he can free himself from the triple nightmare of poverty, ignorance and disease.

It ought to be realised, however, that Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa is primarily a projection into the future; it is what is hoped for. Difficulties do arise in trying to constitute in reality the ideals which the Ujamaa philosophy represents.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Theoretical Framework

While admitting that philosophy as man's quest for meaning[1] is universal, nevertheless this quest is culturally and historically determined.[2] Differences in world-view and socio-cultural milieu often give rise to differences in philosophical outlook. Philosophical realities can manifest themselves to any person only through the characteristics which belong to the existential milieu in which such a person finds himself. Thus the physical and human elements in philosophy can neither be ignored nor eliminated; they give rise to different cognitive and conceptual approaches to philosophy.

Julius Nyerere's philosophy, as is true of any European, Asian or American philosopher, is colored by his physical environment and his socio-historical condition.[3] His understanding of himself and his place in the universe, and his search for meaning is manifested through the individual and collective experiences of his life as an African. Since his primary school days, Nyerere had two major obsessions: a profound belief in the equality of all human beings and a passionate devotion to social justice.[5] It is from this base that he has developed a social philosophy, a philosophy which he calls Ujamaa.[6] Ujamaa is both a philosophy and an ideological system which provides a set of distinctive theoretical constructs for Nyerere. Through these constructs, he conceptualizes the nature of man and the nature of society; he then proceeds to provide norms and means of

transforming the old man into a new socialist man and the old social order into a new egalitarian order.

Nyerere did not develop in any systematic pattern his theories concerning the nature of man and society, yet such theories are implicit and are found in scattered form throughout his numerous writings, lectures and speeches on diverse subjects. In order to construct a unified philosophical framework from these multifarious writings, the approach in this thesis is expository and interpretative. As the primary focus of this thesis is Nyerere's educational theory, philosophy will be the foundation of this study. But in order adequately to examine the thought and action of Nyerere who is at once a philosopher and the social and political leader of his country, we cannot ignore findings from anthropology, political science and sociology.

Purpose of the Study

It is important to acknowledge from the outset that the aim of Nyerere's socio-political philosophy was not at first educational in its reference. Yet the impression that one gets from the study of his philosophy of Ujamaa is that it is educational in its essence. Ujamaa is more than a form of democratic socialism; it is primarily a mode of group-living, where groups and individuals communicate and share in each other's experiences. The type of high level interaction and exchange of experience that goes on in the Ujamaa village, is indeed, very educational. Nyerere's social philosophy explains the basis of human conduct, the relation of theory to practice and the relation of knowledge and experience; in its ceaseless search for the

possible applications of ideas to the whole spectrum of life, Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa could be rightly described as a theory of education.

In conducting this study, the following four objectives are considered: First of all, to examine some major aspects of Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa with a view to demonstrating why and in what ways his educational thought is rooted in his socio-political theory. Secondly, to explicate the particular concept of education developed by Nyerere through a philosophical analysis of his statements of educational aims and goals. Thirdly, to describe the unique blend of pragmatism and socialism, and above all, the audacity which typifies Nyerere's effort to humanize education and make it a force for self-reliance and a vehicle for the development of a new socialist man. Finally, to critically evaluate Nyerere's philosophical model, especially as it relates to the revolutionizing of Tanzania through education.

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, the reader is provided with a panoramic view of the study that is being undertaken. It raises and answers questions relating to the aim and significance of this study. Also it introduces the reader to Julius Nyerere by reviewing his development from his birth in 1922 until 1961.

Chapter two is devoted to an analysis of the rationale for Nyerere's key concepts. It concludes that the concept of equality is the key to the understanding of Nyerere's social philosophy. His point of departure is that in order to build a true socialist nation,

there must be a recognition of the principle of human equality.

Nyerere expresses his belief in and concern for the common man and in the moral, social and economic uplift of the masses in the innovative philosophy of Ujamaa, which is the main focus of chapter three. Ujamaa has many similarities with the Marxist-Leninist ideal of selfless social awareness and socio-economic egalitarianism. But as demonstrated in this chapter, these are only similarities, not derivatives: Nyerere's Ujamaa reflects an authentic aspect of the African material reality.

An essential element of Nyerere's reconstruction of society is the reconstruction of education. In chapter four, a description of the colonial style of schooling is undertaken in order to show how it was inappropriate because it did not prepare the youth of Tanzania to meet the needs of his village community.

It has been said that Nyerere "wrote Africa's greatest charter"[8], that is, The Arusha Declaration[9]. An effort is made in chapter five to interpret some aspects of this document. Presented as the ideology of Ujamaa, the Arusha Declaration and subsequent policy documents, elucidate Nyerere's socio-political development from 1962 through 1979.

Nyerere's major educational treatise, Education for Self-Reliance[10], was born out of Nyerere's realization that education cannot be considered apart from society. In other words, the formal school system can only educate a child within the social, political and economic system in which it operates. Chapter six examines Nyerere's notion of educational system as a living, organic part of the life of the whole Tanzanian society.

Is Nyerere's philosophical model adequate to the task of building

a new socialist man through a revolution in education? This is the question the concluding chapter tries to examine.

Significance of the Study

Why is it important to attempt a philosophical analysis of Nyerere's theories of Ujamaa and education? In the uncharted field of African philosophy[11] and African philosophies of education, Nyerere's philosophical effort necessarily presents itself as an object of research, especially for someone who intends to devote much of his academic life to promoting African philosophies of education. Nyerere today is perhaps the best known African non-academic philosopher. Through the conceptualization of a social theory, he fulfills the philosophical task of bringing unity and cohesion to diverse and conflicting beliefs in contemporary Tanzania, thus laying the foundation for an integrated social life. Nyerere not only establishes some general philosophical principles, he is convinced that if such principles are to take effect in human conduct, there ought to be a program of education set up in accordance with these principles. This is the primary reason Nyerere's Ujamaa furnishes us with a model of a political education.

This thesis, as far as the author knows, is the first attempt to focus from a philosophical perspective on Nyerere's understanding of education in its wider setting as implying a relationship to and a responsibility for the life and development of every member of the community. This is explicit in his effort to abolish the colonial mentality which tied education to an unequal idea of social class. Also, a maiden effort is made in this thesis to piece together Nyerere's philosophical notions, which

are scattered throughout his many writings.

NYERERE'S SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (1922 - 1960)

Julius Kambaraga Nyerere has been variously described as a teacher, a social reformer and a philosopher-president. It is however in his role as a teacher that he is most outstanding. Once a classroom teacher, Nyerere is today a national teacher and "baba wa taita" (father of a nation).[12] To quote Duggan and Civille: "Nyerere's Swahili sobriquet - Mwalimu (Respected Teacher) is a continuing indication of his pedagogical capabilities".[13] Although Nyerere may not be described as a technical philosopher, yet his didactic mind and imaginative insight have stimulated a social theory that may yet become the dominant future of generations of peoples, especially in Africa. Nyerere has succeeded in no small measure in influencing and shaping Tanzanian thought and attitudes over the past two decades.

In order to get a glimpse of some of the processes by which this single-minded and conscience driven man obtained his basic concepts and assumptions, it becomes necessary to study his early life. Born in March 1922 at Butiama,[14] it was raining so hard at his birth that he was named Kambarage, after an ancestral spirit who lived in the rain.[15] At the age of 23, when he was baptized a Roman Catholic, he adopted the christian name of Julius.[16] His father, Nyerere Burito, was appointed a chief by the Germans.[17] His mother, Mugaya, was only 15 when she married the 61 year old Burito. She thus became the 5th wife out of a total of 22 wives Burito had before his death at age 82. Chief Burito was survived by 26 children; of these, Mugaya had five - Kambarage being her first born child.

Self-confidence and spontaneity marked the early childhood of Kambarage. He grew up in a closely knit family structure which provided cohesion, stability, security and protection. As John Hatch points out: the young Nyerere "acquired a peace of spirit, a sense of security and a quiet self-confidence from ordered, affectionate family life".[18] He was not only born into a cultured, self-reliant household, the fact that he lived with the "Omwani" (Chief's Family) brought him into special contact with those responsible for maintaining tribal norms and customs. Already as a very young boy, the precocious Kambarage was a silent participant in the dispensation of justice. He often sat among the tribal elders and wise men who settled family "palavers".

In the person of his father, Kambarage had a life model. A man of great sense of justice and fairplay, Chief Burito succeeded in imparting to Kambarage his reflective attitude and his power to influence people. Among the many similarities between the elder Nyerere and the young Nyerere were the characteristics of slow, careful assessment of evidence before taking decisions and the promotion of the rights of the common man.

> Nyerere's father, certainly one of the major influences on his early life, represented the calm, secure peace of ageless custom, the head of family and clan, centre of a cosmic society in which age was identified with wisdom ... He saw to it that the young learned and observed the habits and traditions of the tribe, that they showed respect for ancestors and elders, that the traditional sacrifices were made ... He was concerned with the welfare of the people.[19]

On the other hand, it was Kambarage's mother and other female relatives, who introduced him into the lore of the community and the

spirituality of his Zanaki tribe. "It was his mother, as the closest female relative" according to John Hatch, "who was mainly responsible for training Nyerere in tribal manners and customs. Despite all his later international experiences, he has never forgotten these lessons".[20]

Cultural Milieu

One fact Nyerere has never forgotten; he is always the man from Butiama. He is not only deeply rooted in the Zanaki soil, possessing all the wealth of tribal custom and ritual; he also shares all the philosophical assumptions of the Zanaki tribe. Through the education he got in his tribal community, Nyerere was imbued, even before he reached the age of 12, with some fundamental concepts such as:

> The concept that a leader's first duty was service to the community; that the interests of the group superseded those of any individual member; that the leader is responsible to the community which has the right to call him to account for his stewardship, to remove him if it so wills; that the welfare of society depends on co-operation not competition. This was the Zanaki legacy which the young Nyerere inherited from his family, clan and tribe, which he took with him when, at the age of 12, he first left them".[21]

Although Nyerere has certainly broadened his intellectual horizon since his introduction to Western education, beginning at age 12, it is, nevertheless, strongly evident from his way of thinking that he has not departed significantly from the general philosophical orientation he had received from his tribal up-bringing. At Mwisenge and Tabora schools, as a young man in Makerere University College and then at Edinburgh University, John Hatch observes that:

> Julius Nyerere was to come under the influence of external, alien educational perspectives ...

> he encountered people and institutions with attitudes vastly different from those of his homeland. These influences have certainly affected his personality. Yet they have been added to the foundation laid by his own society, rather than undermining or changing them. The roots of his nature grew from the seeds planted by the Zanaki community in which he was reared, and by a home life within that community. Later experiences enriched and broadened his perceptions, but from a secure, unshakeable base.[22]

There are 126 tribes in Tanzania. The Zanaki tribe is one of the smallest of these.[23] It is essentially a sedentary farming community. Unlike some other African tribes, the Zanaki had neither kings nor chiefs.[24] Even after the German colonial administration imposed chieftaincy on the people, the Zanaki tribe continued to remain a classless, egalitarian society, practising the concept of representative and democratic government.[25] A basic belief of the Zanaki is that culture and society is intergrated and bound together by a consistent, harmonious set of values. These values, according to Nyerere, were never questioned or even thought about. But the whole of society was both based upon them, and designed to uphold them. They permeated the customs, manners and education of the people. And although they were not always honoured by every individual, they were not challenged; rather the individual continued to be judged by them.[26] Nyerere has grouped under three headings the values which pervaded and unified the Zanaki way of life. The first of these values is love (respect) or a recognition of mutual involvement in one another.

> Each member of the family recognized the place and the rights of the other members, and although the rights varied according to sex, age and even ability and character, there was a minimum below which no one could exist without disgrace to the whole family".[27]

The second basic principle which characterizes the Zanaki tribe, is the value of equalitarianism, especially with regard to "property". It was accepted that all the property and all the basic goods within the community were held in common and shared among all the members of the unit. There was not complete equality; inequalities existed, but they were tempered by comparable family or social responsibilities and they could never become gross and offensive to the social equality which was at the basis of the communal life. The obligation to work constituted the third assumption. Every member of the Zanaki tribe and "every member of the family and every guest who shared in the right to eat and have shelter, took it for granted that he had to join in whatever work had to be done".[28] The old Swahili proverb: "Mgeni siku mbili, siku ya tatu mpe jembe" (Treat your guest as a guest for two days; on the third day give him a hoe), underscores the significance of the fact that everyone had an obligation to work.

In his introduction to Freedom and Unity,[29] Nyerere describes how these three assumptions, which he had absorbed as a child, were and mostly still are in relation to the family, the basic values which a child absorbs from his parents, his elders, relations and the whole social organization.

> The child is indoctrinated with these concepts in practical terms; he is told 'that is your share', 'go to your brother' (when in European terms this man is a distant relative). And he is criticized and punished if he disregards the courtesies due to other members of the social group, or fails to share the remaining food with a late-comer, or ignores the small duties entrusted to him. The young men and young women are taught these principles again in their tribal initiation. The principles, without being analysed, permeate the form and the purpose of the whole educational system of the tribal society.[30]

The Zanaki concept of the nature of man which Nyerere inherited is not based on abstraction. The Zanaki tribal man grapples with the nature of man by expressing in concrete terms what he himself, as a man, experiences of his condition.[31] Thus he forges for himself a humanistic model of man as he is, man in his socio-historical environment. His concept of man is that of one who finds himself ambiguous and placed in an ambiguous universe; man who has to do battle with the forces of disorder and enslavement that surround him. However, man is perfectible. Although man often finds himself torn between countrary tendencies, yet no human being is all-evil. It is always possible for man to create good out of evil and order out of disorder.

The Zanaki believe that all men are created equal. Hence, they "are very independent-minded and very proud of themselves".[32] Although each tribal man has the ability to act freely and voluntarily in ordering his own affairs, the Zanaki is always conscious of his common destiny with the rest of his tribal group. There is a very high degree of co-operation, to the extent that the right of each individual to self-development and personal integrity is only a value if it can be fitted harmoniously into the general interest of the community. The definition of a virtuous man or a true tribesman conforms with the man whose conduct serves society's end.

There is a great emphasis on the value of sociality, with a corresponding denunciation of any exploitative individually oriented act of values. On account of the stress on cooperation and the common interest, each tribal man respected the other, as each had an intrinsic worth. No tribal man, whatever his position in the society, ever considered another tribal man as a means to an end; each man was an

end in himself.[33] "To treat one's self or others as an end" says Stella Henderson, "is to promote the development of the best possible personality. This is not a formula which can be applied without thought".[34]

The Zanaki projected the image of a man as a perfectible, self-actualizing and free individual, who nevertheless cannot satisfy his vital needs apart from society. The Zanaki tribe entertained no ambivalence toward equality, as it was the practice to treat all men as ends, never as means. It is thanks to this profound cultural background that Nyerere grew up fighting for "human dignity" and "equality" for all. When he threw himself into the thick of the fierce battle to redress the indignities and depersonalization suffered by the masses of his people at the hands of their colonial overlords, the Zanaki principle of equality of all men was to be Nyerere's concrete pillar of support.

Introduction to Western Ideas

The boarding school at Mwisenge, 30 miles away from home, represented a definite discontinuity in the life of the 12 year old Nyerere. It was his very first contact with the West. The boarders had been withdrawn from the "surrounding barbarianism and pagan influences" in order to constitute a somewhat self-sufficient social unit.[35] The missionary boarding school excelled in enforcing the Judaeo-Christian morality; it was a setting in which foreign cultural, religious and nationalistic patterns were the order of the day. Character training and the stern code of European ethics and the like were enforced and the highly impressionable young natives, who came to Mwisenge for an

education, were fed the White man's way of life.[36]

Naturally, the young Nyerere experienced a conflict in identity which reflected the cultural disjuncture between his rural Zanaki society and the Western-oriented Mwisenge boarding school. Before Nyerere came to school at age 12, his tribal training had "already provided him with an imaginative framework of the universe within which human meanings, purpose, morality and relationships were established".[37] Up until now, Nyerere's ideals and pattern of life were strictly determined by what he had learned from his family and tribal community. For the first few months at Mwisenge, everything seemed to be falling apart. He was expected to act according to norms some of which contradicted a great deal of what he had learned at his mother's feet.[38] For the first time since he was born, Nyerere began to look at himself from the outside; to perceive himself in comparison to or in contrast with the European and the Asian. However, Nyerere manifested, even at this early age, his ability to adapt to new situations. After 3 years at Mwisenge and "having headed the examination for the whole territory",[39] Nyerere was admitted to the government school in Tabora in 1936. At Tabora, Nyerere had to fight against "elitism" which was the hall mark of this British styled school. The core of the elitist education was the achievement of certain Western standards: fluency in the English language, a Western way of thinking and acting, often conversion to christianity, Western forms of clothing, eating and drinking. In short, to be an educated elite meant to reject the African traditional way of life. From his first year at Tabora, Nyerere refused to perceive himself as being trained to be one of the "educated elite". Perhaps the most crucial

of all the formative influences that impinged on Nyerere's socio-political consciousness at this stage in his life, was his uncompromising reprobation of the unjustifiable privileges which elitism bestowed on the lucky few. He saw in the elitist set-up a denial of equality of opportunity. It was at Tabora, that we can begin to discern the development of the social philosophical ideas which were to dominate Nyerere's life.[40]

Although he was a shy and often awkward "rural boy", Nyerere soon distinguished himself at Tabora, as a brilliant reflective thinker. He evinced a degree of maturity far beyond his actual age and indications of moral judgment of an advanced type. His concern and sympathy for the weak and friendless and his dedication to the course of social justice had taken deep roots at Tabora.[41]

However, it was at Makerere University College, where Nyerere was trained to be a school teacher, that he felt most strongly the need to create meaning and purpose out of his everyday social actions and interactions. At Makerere, Nyerere was pre-occupied with the search for "the meaning of life"; he spent considerable time in search of a set of beliefs about himself and his contemporary social environment which could form the basis of his dream for social reform. Although Biology was his subject of specialization at Makerere, Nyerere's main interest had begun to centre on ideas and concepts, rather than on the specific subjects of a curriculum.

> He was attracted by what philosophy of life, its meaning and its organisation had been propounded. At this stage he was enormously impressed by the essays of John Stuart Mill. Already he had acquired such a fluency of style and originality of perception that he twice won first prize in the East African

> literary competition. It is significant that his second prize was gained by an essay on 'The Subjection of Women in Tribal Society', in which he applied Mill's analysis to the issue in the society he knew personally.[42]

Nyerere was very interested in an examination of human conduct and society. His whole philosophical inquiry, as it started to develop at Makerere, was one persistent attempt to discern the application of ideas to practical life. He concerned himself with the immediate problems of man and society and how to draw out man's inner quality of sociality or "the mechanism by which individual man internalizes the interests and norms of his community".[43] Nyerere had to subdue his passion for the promotion of the common good during the two years at Makerere, while he learned to collate "his own philosophy from his readings and through exchange of ideas".[44] More than most people his age, Nyerere felt the need to probe deeper than the often superficial analysis of most politically conscious students. It is generally believed by many scholars that the main contribution that Nyerere made to student politics at Makerere "was to turn minds to the wider issues involved in serious political change".[45] Without any doubt, Nyerere's exploration of concepts evolved to an advanced stage at Makerere, yet he has never been known to have indulged in mere abstract theorizing. Anyone who attempts a study of the life and writings of Nyerere cannot fail to see how, for him, thinking is inseparable from action. He could be very aptly described as a philosopher-president who possesses the ability of being a well-balanced practical man while remaining a broad-minded, erudite and earnest thinker.

In October 1949, Nyerere was admitted into the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. Concerning his plan of studies at Edinburgh,

Nyerere remarks: "Had I the inclination to take an honors degree I should have liked to take one in philosophy".[46] But expediency dictated otherwise. He had been offered a scholarship to study biology. However, he did not want to study any more biology, so as a compromise he took his Masters degree in general arts. Reflecting on his experience, Nyerere said: "At Edinburgh, my degree was in history and economics, my strongest subject was philosophy. I read a great deal. I had plenty of time to think. My ideas of politics were formed completely during that time. It was my own evolution, but it was complete".[47]

Nyerere's philosophical ideas spring primarily from his African roots. He has had the philosophic strain in his personality since early childhood. In the opinion of John Hatch, this fact was attributable to Nyerere's family life and tribal up-bringing.[48] From his father, who was a tribal chief, he had his early lessons in political thinking and decision-making. His Zanaki tribe enjoyed a stable traditional structure and value system, it manifested strong kinship ties and accepted the principle of communalism. As a young philosopher, Nyerere had the privilege of being able to draw on his tribal common pool of ideals and ideas. His tribal base offered him so much by way of social and cultural integration that he did not have to go outside the confines of his tribe to develop his fundamental social philosophy.[49]

As the thesis progresses, we can begin to perceive the profound impact of his family up-bringing and the Zanaki values on Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa. It may as well be pointed out here that Nyerere finds himself faced with a number of contradictions[50] in his effort to project the traditional Zanaki values, especially the values of

"equality" and "classless egalitarianism", into the present conditions of modern Tanzania. Some of these contradictions will be the subject of examination throughout this thesis. Nyerere became a Roman Catholic at the age of 23 and continues to remain a devout christian. Has his christian faith influenced the development of his philosophy? And to what extent? Nyerere meticulously avoids making any references to his christian background. The impression he gives in all his public statements is that his Ujamaa philosophy has its roots in the African traditional past. However, J. Franken[51] has pointed out some interesting parallels between Christian socialism and Nyerere's thought on socialism.

NOTES

[1]There is a definitional debate about what philosophy is. As Harry S. Broudy points out: "Philosophy can denote anything from the logic of modern physics to a reflective mood about life". (cf. The Journal of Philosophy. 52, Oct. 27, 1955, p. 612). However, there seems to be a concensus among academic minds that in the final analysis, philosophy has as its subject matter the pursuit of knowledge in general. It is in this sense I have referred to philosophy as the quest for meaning.

[2]The notion of philosophy as cultural, historical phenomenon was first systematically postulated by Auguste Comte (19th Century French Philosopher). In recent times, John Dewey and Ernst Cassirer are foremost among philosophers who see philosophy as being intrinsically related to both culture and history. See, John Dewey, Freedom and Culture. (N.Y.: Capricorn Books, 1939). Reconstruction in Philosophy. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957, p.v.). Philosophy and Civilization. (N.Y.: Capricorn Books, 1963, p. 10). Problems of Man. (N.Y.: Philosophical Library, 1946, p. 135). Also see, Ernst Cassirer. An Essay on Man. (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1944).

[3]William E. Abraham. The Mind of Africa. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 104.

[4]Joseph Mullin has written a fairly accurate account of how the African thinks. For details see, J. Mullin. The Catholic Church in Modern Africa. (London: G. Chapman, 1958), p. 32.

[5]L.S. Kurtz relates how at the age of 16, Julius Nyerere who was made a prefect at Tabora Government school, agitated against the privileges conferred on prefects; among such privileges was a double ration of meal. cf. L.S. Kurtz. Historical Dictionary of Tanzania. (New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), p. 151.

[6]Ujamaa the Swahili word which has been often translated as "familyhood" or "brotherhood" is the basis of Nyerere's brand of African socialism. Ujamaa is also the title of several articles and booklets written by Nyerere.

[8]John Hatch. Two African Statesmen: Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976), p. xv and p. 1.

[9]J.K. Nyerere. The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance. (Dar es Salaam: TANU Pamplets, 1967).

[10]J.K. Nyerere. Education for Self-Reliance. op. cit.

[11]William E. Abraham. The Mind of Africa. op. cit. Also see John Mbiti. African Religions and Philosophy. (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1969).

[12]William E. Smith. "Profiles: Julius K. Nyerere". New Yorker. Part 1. (Oct. 16, 1971), p. 44.

[13]W.R. Duggan and J.R. Civille. Tanzania and Nyerere. (New York: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 47.

[14]Butiama is a small village east of Lake Victoria; it is one of the villages which comprise the Zanaki tribe.

[15]The naming of children after the condition in which they are born is a common practise throughout Black Africa. For example, Nyerere is best translated from the Ki-zanaki into English as "caterpillar"; and it commemorates a plague of insects which invaded the Zanaki lands in the year of the birth of Julius' father, Chief Burito.

[16]Nyerere is one of a diminishing number of African leaders who still wish to be called by a christian name. Shortly before he entered Makerere College, Kambarage was baptised a Roman Catholic (Dec. 23rd, 1943) in the Nyegina Mission Chapel. Since then, Nyerere has substituted Julius for his Zanaki surname by which he was known before his baptism.

[17]In 1885 Tanganyika was declared a protectorate and was administered by the German East African Company until 1891 when it became a German colony, known as German East Africa. In 1917 under the mandate of the League of Nations Tanganyika became a Trust Territory and was administered by Britain until independence in 1961. For details see, Ralph A. Austen. Northwest Tanzania Under German and British Rule. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

[18]John Hatch. Two African Statesmen ... op. cit., p. 1.

[19]Ibid., p. 4.

[20]Ibid., p. 5.

[21]Ibid., p. 7.

[22]Ibid., p. 2.

[23]In Tanzania no one tribe has a disproportionate majority; the largest in number (Chagga) is only about one-tenth of the total population. For more study of the tribes in Tanzania see, L.S. Kurtz. Historical Dictionary of Tanzania. op. cit., p. 228. Also see, W.H. Ingrams. Zanzibar, Its History and People. (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1931).

[24]For more information concerning the problems of the origin of chieftainships in Tanzania see, Aylward Shorter. Chiefship in Western Tanzania. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

[25]Judith Listowel. The Making of Tanganyika. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1965), pp. 170-173.

[26]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), Introduction, p. 18.

[27]Ibid

[28]Ibid

[29]Ibid., pp. 18-20.

[30]Ibid., p. 14.

[31]Judith Listowel. op. cit., p. 171.

[32]William E. Smith. op. cit. New Yorker, p. 47. Also see, W.E. Smith. We Must Run While They Work: A Portrait of Africa's Julius Nyerere. (N.Y.: Random House, 1971).

[33]J.K. Nyerere. "The Varied Paths to Socialism" see Freedom and Socialism. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 303-304.

[34]Stella Henderson. Introduction to Philosophy of Education. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 113.

[35]See, A.R. Thompson. "Ideas Underlying British Colonial Education Policy in Tanganyika". In Tanzania: Revolution by Education. Edited by Idrian Resnick. (Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania, 1968). Also see, Thomas Jesse Jones. Education in East Africa. (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1925).

[36]For those interested in knowing more about the type of cultural disorientation brought about by colonization in Africa see, Frantz Fanon. Black Skin/White Masks. (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1967).

[37]John Hatch. op. cit., p. 7.

[38]Judith Listowel. op. cit., pp. 171-173.

[39]John Hatch. op. cit., p. 8.

[40]John Hatch, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[41]John Hatch, op. cit., p. 10.

[42]Ibid., p. 16.

[43]Neil Cougham. Young John Dewey. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 85.

[44]John Hatch. op. cit., p. 26.

[45]Ibid., p. 18.

[46]Ibid., p. 27.

[47]William E. Smith. op. cit. New Yorker., p. 64.

[48]See, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere - President of the United Republic of Tanzania. (Dar es Salaam: Mwananchi Publishing Company, 1965). Also see, John Hatch. op. cit., p. xv and pp. 1-14.

[49]See, E. Mahiki. "The Influence of Traditionalism Upon Nyerere's Ujamaaism". (Denver: University of Denver, 1965). Unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

[50]These contradictions arise due to a number of factors. In the first place, the traditional family based on lineage system is slowly but surely dying due to rapid urbanization. Secondly, the mode of production in the traditional society is different from what it is today. Thirdly, the basis of leadership and status as it existed in the traditional, classless society, does not exist in the modern artificially created nation-states. Finally, it does seem the tension between traditional values and Western values cannot be resolved by a romantic appeal to the African past. For further reading, see, Jack Goody. Technology, Tradition and The State in Africa. (Cambridge, 1966). A. Richards (editor). East African Chiefs. (New York: Praeger, 1960). M. Gluckman. Custom and Conflict in Africa. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955).

[51]J. Franken. Arusha Declaration and Christian Socialism. (Dar es Salaam: Tanzanian Publishing House, 1969).

CHAPTER II

RATIONALE FOR NYERERE'S KEY CONCEPTS

Nyerere's Conception of Human Equality: A key to understanding his social philosophy

In most of Nyerere's major speeches and writings, "the emphasis is on equality and its implications".[1] In fact, the focus on the equality of all men is so central to his thinking that it informed all his thought and actions.[2] This emphasis on the topic of equality was largely determined by Tanganyikan history. Nyerere's thinking was conditioned by the reality of a multi-racial society where the native Africans and the immigrant Whites and Asians have never lived as equals. As Kazamais and Massailes have documented, Tanganyika was divided into three separate and unequal classes. The European generally occupied the highest position in the government and the private sector of the economy, the Asian had the middle position, while the native African occupied the lowest position.[3] Kazamais and Massailes also noted that the British colonial administrators notoriously fortified the social prestige of the small but wealthy minority, thus maintaining the seemingly fixed and unalterable status of the rich and the poor remaining in their respective "God given" stations in life.

It was in a socio-historical structure, such as has just been described, that Nyerere developed his key concepts. Among these key concepts were freedom, justice and brotherhood. However, Nyerere contended that neither freedom nor justice nor brotherhood could survive without the idea of human equality. There could be no real

freedom in an unequal society. Hence Nyerere postulated that the freedom for individuals to express their beliefs and ideas and the freedom to vote and organize "is one facet of man's equality".[4] With regard to justice, Nyerere argued that it depended upon the correct appraisal of the true worth of man. In other words, to have a just society, each individual was to be assessed not by the color of his skin, or his material wealth, or his intellectual ability but each individual's standing in the community was to be determined by his "worth as a person".[5] For there to be social justice Nyerere maintained: "There must be a belief that every individual man and woman, of whatever colour, shape, race, creed, religion or sex, is an equal member of society with equal rights in the society and equal duties to it".[6] Nyerere agreed with the traditional philosophers that in the final analysis problems of justice between men return in every episode to the problem of equality. Hence there can be true justice only where the principle of human equality is generally recognized. The concept of brotherhood or, as it is called in Tanzania "familyhood", is a favourite of Nyerere's. Yet he argued that the organization of a democratic society cannot wait indefinitely upon the day when every man and woman would accept every member of the society as a member of his or her family. Despite the fact that the concept of brotherhood was gaining ground in Tanzania, Nyerere pushed equality to the first place. It was by far easier for people to accept the proposition of equality as a standard of values than to regard every other person as a blood brother or sister.

Nyerere's philosophic concepts rested on the deepest realities of human nature. At the very centre of these realities was the

principle of human equality. He thought of building society in much the same way as building a house. If the house was to withstand the wind, the storm and the rain, it must be built on a firm foundation. The same was true for society; a society designed to serve the best interests of man must rest on the fundamental principle of human equality. "The human equality before God, which is the basis of all great religions of the world," declared Nyerere, "is also the basis of the political philosophy of socialism".[7] Nyerere "had a deep personal belief in the innate and equal worth of the human being";[8] from this single conviction in the right of all human beings to equal treatment, he developed his socio-political philosophy. The underlying basis of which was to convince the skeptics that "the principle of equality is moral and then to devising policies which translate that principle into practice".[9]

Grounds for and Types of Equality:

The question that has plagued philosophers since ages is: "Why treat all individuals equally in the face of some manifest inequalities among them?" There has always been the problem of providing unassailable logical arguments to support the proposition of human equality. In a paraphrase of Bernard Williams,[10] equalitarians argue their case on three premises. Firstly, that all men have equal worth; secondly, that all men have certain natural capacities, especially rationality, and lastly that all men have certain natural vulnerabilities, for example, liability to pain and suffering. Other than this, the equalitarians' case relies on "intuition" and constant appeal to the common assent of mankind.[11] None of these

arguments for human equality is able to pass the rigorous analysis of the skeptics. Among the skeptics, Friedrich Nietzsche posed the greatest challenge to human equality in modern times. In his Genealogy of Morals, Nietzsche inaugurated a new standard of human worth and value based on racial superiority, on toughness, power and strength.[12] Inspired by this new yardstick for measuring human worth, Adolf Hitler is quoted as having qualmlessly asserted:

> Always before God and the world, the stronger has the right to carry through what he wills. History proves: He who has not the strength, him the right in itself profits not a whit.[13]

The German superman syndrome and Hitler's absurd pretensions that untainted German blood was nature's sign of highest worth, owe their origin to some aspects of Nietzsche's philosophy of natural inequality.

It was at the time when Julius Nyerere was beginning to mature in his philosophical thinking,[14] that Fascism was at its peak. In Mein Kampf,[15] Hitler modeled his vision of a new world social order on inequality, which he insisted was the obvious decree of nature. Nature, he insisted is an aristocracy. Everywhere it exhibits the grades of good, better and best; and of bad, worse and worst. Some human beings are better than others, and the best qualities are found in races of "common blood". The Germans were such a race, by order of nature. Therefore, the German people of "common blood" must stand at the top of the aristocracy of peoples the whole world over. Hitler believed so much in the superiority of the German people, as the master race, that he not only sent millions of Jews to their untimely death in the infamous "gas chambers" but he also provoked the second and bitterly fought world war.[16]

Nyerere decried Hitler's fascism as the "the highest and most ruthless form of the exploitation of man by man, made possible by deliberate efforts to divide mankind and set one group of man against another group".[17] The ruthless subjugation of the Maji Maji revolt in his own country, by the German colonizers has in recent years been scholarly documented.[18] Nyerere knew that the fascist concept of justice was satisfied only when the highest and the lowest were in their so-called proper places. Nyerere realised that when the fascist demanded justice what he meant was that he was entitled to more rights and to the lion's share on account of his natural superiority. This fascist concept of justice was prevalent in Nyerere's Tanganyika, where the "superior" Europeans and Asians asserted their right to keep the "inferior" Africans in subjection and where it was "the divine right" of the small but powerful immigrant group to always have the lion's share.[19]

Nyerere's major task was to convince the skeptics in his country that there were some respects in which all men were alike which justified them in being treated alike. In his search for a rational basis for equality, like most other equalitarians before him, Nyerere relied on his own personal intuition and metaphysical arguments. He also appealed readily to the universal assent of mankind.

> People can accept the equality of man because they believe that all men were created by God; they can believe it because they feel that the scientific evidence supports such a conclusion, or they can accept it simply because they believe it is the only basis on which life in society can be organized without injustice. It does not matter why people accept the equality of man as the basis of social organization, all that matters is that they do accept it.[20]

Nyerere posited the self-evident truth that "all men are created equal" [21] as one of the facts which put man, qua man, in the same category. Although according to the "deliberate and inflexible rule" of national politics in Tanganyika "a man's religious beliefs were never to be used in public arguments"[22] yet in his defense of the principle of equality, Nyerere fell back on his own deep religious conviction that all men are created equal by God. The foundation of African traditional religions and the Christianity which Nyerere later in life embraced is that each person is created equally in the image and likeness of God. "All men and women are equal before God who will judge each person with equal justice".[23] Nyerere argued that just as all men are equal in their relation to God, it stands to reason that the relation of man to man in society ought to be on the basis of equality.

Nyerere appealed to the traditional African concept of egalitarianism.[24] Traditional African society was neither based on fixed hereditory castes (like the 18th Century European feudal system or the East Indian caste system), nor was it a purely meritorious society in which all rights were based on merit alone. Instead, the traditional philosophy rested upon a basic acceptance of human equality and the welfare of every other man.[25] In a very important paper entitled "The African and Democracy",[26] Nyerere pleaded that the doctrine of human equality has always been deeply engrained in the traditional African way of life. The Westerner, Nyerere argued, cannot doubt the African's sense of equality because aristocracy is something foreign to Africa.

> Even where there is a fairly distinct African aristocracy-by-birth, it can be traced historically to sources outside this continent ... In my own country, the only two tribes which have a distinct

> aristocracy are the Bahaya in Bukoba, and the Boha in Buha districts. In both areas the "aristocrats" are historically foreigners, and they belong to the same stock. The traditional African society, whether it had a chief or not and many, like my own, did not, was a society of equals.[27]

Equality was the hallmark of traditional African communalism. Everyone within the community had equal rights, and no one was ever treated as less than a human person. Traditional African communalism offered each tribesman the opportunity to live as an equal without diminishing the outward show of individuality. There was privacy, personal rights and personal freedom embodied in traditional communalism.[28] Even in places where there were kings or chiefs, there was still the basic recognition of all men as being equal in their ultimate worth.

Nyerere fully endorsed the notion of certain properties of man as man (rationality, basic needs, liability to joy and pain etc.) as a proof for equal human worth.[29] These common properties, Gregory Vlastos postulates, set the concept of human equality apart from that of human merit. According to Vlastos:

> We grade persons according to their talents, skills, character and personality traits and other rankable qualities, but in respect to 'human worth' (by definition) all men get equal grades. Indeed 'human worth', is not a 'grading concept' at all.[30]

There was no denial on the part of Nyerere that there were many obvious differences in ability or merit among men. He disagreed with the thorough-going equalitarian who sees all men as equal in all respects. In his address to the Faculty and Students of the University of Cairo (Egypt)[31], Nyerere refered to the physical, mental and moral inequalities which are everywhere found in our experience of men.

> Some human beings are physically strong and other weak, some are intellectually able while

> others are rather dull, some people are skillful in the use of their hands while others are clumsy.[32]

It was, however, as a man (on the basis not of merit but of human worth) that Nyerere asked that all men be judged. Granted that all men are equal in ultimate worth Nyerere insisted, it does not follow that the toiler and the shirker are entitled to equal rewards. In other words, Nyerere believed that the notion basic to social justice is that distinctions should be made if on account of some physical, mental or moral inequalities, there arises the need to make such distinctions. Unlike the commandment "Thous Shall not Kill", which according to Nyerere is an absolute negative command, the principle of equality demands positive action and requires differentiation between men because of their inequalities.[33]

The principle of equality is general in the sense that it requires that "what ought to be done in any particular situation or by any particular person ought to be done in any other situation or by any other person unless there is some relevant difference in the situation or person in question".[34] To say, for example, argued Nyerere "that a one-armed old man and an active young man are equal if they each have ten acres of fertile land and a hoe would be to make a mockery of equality".[35] He then goes further to make it abundantly clear that:

> There is, therefore, no absolute and simple rule which can be easily applied everywhere and to all aspects of life in relation to equality. Instead we are forced back to concepts of human dignity; every member of society must have safeguarded by society his basic humanity and the sacredness of his life-force. He must both be regarded, and be able to regard himself, as the human equal of all other members in relation to the society.[36]

In conclusion, it could be said that as far as Nyerere was concerned, the grounds for equality are simple unassailable once we

understand that human equality is distinct from human merit. Nyerere did not argue in favor of equality as sameness. He recognized that there were obvious differences in ability and talents and even agreed that injustice could arise as much from treating equally, people who have obvious unequal merits. Hence when the native Tanganyikan farmer insists that he is not less equal to the European or Asian (no matter how well such a European or Asian may claim to have surpassed the African in intellectual ability, material wealth and social status) this proud farmer is using his individuality, the self-contained circle of his experience, the personal world which begins and ends with his awareness, as the final standard of human worth[37]. The metaphysical concept of human equality, according to Nyerere, has "no room for the kind of arrogance which leads educated men and women to despise the uneducated".[38] Equality in the metaphysical sense cannot condone any situation which makes the progress of one man, or group of men, render it unnecessary for other men, or group of men, to think for themselves.[39] A similar idea is expressed by Joel Feinberg:

> The real point of the maxim that all men are equal may be simply that all men equally have a point of view of their own, a unique angle from which they view the world. They are all equally centers of experience, foci of subjectivity. This implies that they are all capable of being viewed by others imaginatively from their own point of view.[40]

Thus far, two notions of equality have been examined. In arguing that people ought to be treated identically unless there is sufficient reason for treating them differently, Nyerere was concerned with procedural or formal equality. Among the sufficient reasons he gave for treating people differently were, physical, intellectual and moral inequalities. Another notion of equality espoused by Nyerere is meta-

physical equality. His metaphysical argument is based on the fact that all men are equal on the basis of their individuality and the self-contained circle of their personal experiences.

Apart from his concern with formal and metaphysical equality, Nyerere also sought to vividly "demonstrate the denial of equality which is inherent in a colonial situation and the consequent structure of social privileges".[41] Such inequality arises from the denial of fundamental human rights to the Africans, for example, the right to vote and be voted for, and the denial of equal socio-economic opportunities. In other words, the crux of Nyerere's concern with human equality centered on the fact that equality implied equal fundamental human rights. These rights embraced all the natural rights that are contained in leading manifestos.[42] In one of his most forceful speeches before the United Nations Special Committee in New York, Nyerere unequivocally declared that equality means that:

> Every man has equal right to a decent life before any individual has a surplus above his needs; has equal right to participate in government, and has equal responsibility to work and contribute to the society to the limit of his ability and to receive all the rights and privileges that the society confers on her citizens.[43]

These rights are positively expressed within the Tanganyikan context, in terms of: (a) racial equality, (b) political equality, (c) economic equality.

Racial Equality

Racial inequality is more than a merely prudential question but a very crucial moral concern. Unfortunately, many people seem unfamiliar with the reality of racial discrimination. Many are unaware of its scope and even more are unconcerned by its scandal and destructiveness.

Nyerere very strongly believed that peoples and governments have the moral obligation to abolish the depersonalizing ordeal of racial discrimination. Nyerere undertook his very first major research, "The Race Problem in East Africa"[44] in an effort to dramatize the long range effects of the denial of basic rights to the majority of the East Africans. Duggan and Civille have scholarly summarized the main points of Nyerere's unpublished dissertation under eight major theses as follows:

1. He saw the problem of combating racial tensions in East Africa as one of harmonizing and of learning to live together.

2. He contended that the blacks do not question the right of whites to live in Africa, but rather that the blacks have the need to govern themselves in those territories in which they make up the majority of the population.

3. He condemned the domination of one race by another.

4. He contended that the root of the problem is racial hatred on both sides of the color line, this requiring mutual effort at finding solutions, and he saw these causes as political and economic rather than cultural.

5. He stated the problem then faced by East Africans as ultimately dependent on the redistribution of political and economic control and on the acceptance by all communities concerned of the principles of social, economic, and, above all, political equality.

6. He pointed out the disparity in numbers between black and white inhabitants of East Africa and pleaded for a democratic political voice of the majority, restoring to blacks their hereditary rights on the African continent.

7. He contended that violence might be necessary to achieve restoration of these black African rights to equality and political control, stating that "a day comes when people will prefer death to insult ...".

8. He envisaged, optimistically, the establishment of

> a harmonious, non-racial society in Tanganyika and in East Africa.[45]

It was on these eight major theses that Nyerere based his fight for racial equality. As the Leader of the Opposition in the pre-independence Tanganyika Legislative Council, Nyerere expressed his apprehension for any government policies put forward as multi-racial or non-racial policies. The reason Nyerere did not want "multi-racial" or "non-racial" to be used in policy statements was because, in his own words, "We do not hear of talk of multi-racial policy in the United States of America or other countries which are necessarily multi-racial in population. Why should there be emphasis on race - whether before that 'race' we place 'multi' or 'non' in Tanganyika?". He then spelt out what he thought the masses of the people of Tanganyika wanted. They wanted equal rights for all citizens; they wanted that every citizen of Tanganyika irrespective of his race, as long as he owed allegiance to Tanganyika, was a complete and equal citizen with anyone else.[46] Without being entangled in the semantic web of "multi-racialism" or "non-racialism", what was of great concern to Nyerere was that "out of peoples of different religious and different social groups, a nation is built in which race is of less importance than a record of service and an expected ability to give service".[47]

Since 1952, when Nyerere returned from his studies in Scotland, he has written extensively on the question of racial equality. He explained in his introduction to Freedom and Unity (1966), that it was only in the last year or so that Tanzania's circumstances had made racial equality less immediately dangerous than economic inequalities between citizens of African descent. And even now, he quickly added the reverberations of events in apartheid South Africa meant that

Tanzanians could not relax their guard against racialism.[48]

From the time TANU was formed until 1963, its membership was restricted racially to Africans or any person having at least one African parent. The paradox was how Nyerere who was a champion of racial equality could inaugurate and preside over a racially exclusive organization? Nyerere always denounced racialism as being "absolutely and fundamentally contrary to the principle of the equality of man".[49] From the beginning of his political prominence, he proclaimed that he was launching his campaign against foreign domination, not on racial principles but "it is true to say that we in Tanzania campaigned on the grounds of human equality".[50] How does Nyerere resolve the seeming contradiction between his ideal of giving his country social and political institutions which stress equality of all men and women regardless of racial origin, on the one hand, and the establishment of a racially exclusive organization, on the other? Instead of paraphrasing Nyerere's response to his critics, it is best to quote at length from his introduction to Freedom and Unity, where he clarified his position on this apparent conflict between theory and practice.

> The decision that TANU should accept membership only from Africans ... was a political decision necessary because of the prevailing lack of self-confidence in the African community. Years of Arab slave raiding, and later years of European domination had caused our people to have grave doubts about their own abilities. This was no accident; any dominating group seeks to destroy the confidence of those they dominate because this helps them to maintain their position, and the oppressors in Tanganyika were no exception. Indeed, it can be argued that the biggest crime of oppression and foreign domination in Tanganyika and elsewhere, is the psychological effect it has on the people who experience it. A vital task for any liberation movement must therefore be to restore the people's self-confidence, and it was quite clear to us that a multi-racial TANU could never do that. There would be too many amongst our people who would

> believe that any successes of the movement were due to the superiority and assistance of our non-African members. Only by creating and developing our own exclusive organization could we begin to develop confidence in our own abilities ... For these reasons TANU became a racial organization; yet it was one which, from the beginning campaigned for racial equality.[51]

Of course, the European and Asian residents of Tanganyika were not convinced by Nyerere's logic. On several occasions before the United Nations Trust Territory Committee, Nyerere was hard put, trying to rationalize the fact that although TANU was a racially exclusive organization, it was nevertheless for racial equality for all Tanganyikans.[52]

Political Equality

Nyerere saw the restoration of the democratic political rights of the majority as one of the major solutions to the problem of social unrest in his country. He contended that unless there was political equality or political justice for all there cannot be a true democratic society. And political justice implied for Nyerere, a balanced exchange of rights and duties between all the citizens and the state. This condition is absent when a small minority says, "we know and the others are fools who must be led like sheep".[53] Nyerere insisted that all men and women are entitled to enjoy the privileges of having political liberty and political rights. In fact, he was of the opinion that the exercise of political rights was a precondition to the restoration of traditional African dignity. It is only through universal suffrage, in which the illiterate farmer as well as the well educated and wealthy merchants have the same right to vote and/or be voted for, that the African can safeguard his dignity as a man.[54] There has been

consistency in Nyerere's application of political equality in Tanzania since independence. Both the black majority and the European and Asian minority enjoy equal political rights.

Economic Equality

One of the pivotal questions in the debate on economic equality implies a clarification of the notion of distributive justice.[55] The objection the wealthy minority was raising against Nyerere's plea for economic equality was why it should be held morally responsible to alleviate the poverty of the masses which it neither created, intended nor desired? In other words, why must the few who have worked very hard to possess their wealth and who have every right to their well-earned private property be morally required to give up either part or most of their right in order to satisfy the rights of others? Nyerere's answer was that while the State may not guarantee every individual an equal right or an equal share of the nation's wealth, it was the duty of the State to prevent the wealthy from exploiting the less fortunate. "We want to work towards a position", says Nyerere, "where each person realizes that his rights in society, above the basic needs of every human being, must come second to the over-riding need of human dignity for all".[56]

Nyerere anchored his principle of distributive justice on the traditional African concept of the "responsibility of the one for the many".[57] According to this general principle, the well-off farmer or hunter or trader was morally required to prevent something bad (for example, starvation) from happening to any other member of the community, if what he would sacrifice was of less consequence. It did seem that this traditional principle was a question of duty rather than mere

charity. As Nyerere observed, "it would certainly be a major social disgrace for one member of a family, however senior, to be acquiring, for example, personal property in the form of trade, clothes or anything else, while another member was denied his basic rights".[58] In traditional African life, an affluent farmer was required by social custom to act to alleviate the suffering of the poor, even in cases where he did not want to. The traditional morality of wealth made it clear that no man had any right to non-necessary goods while some others were likely to die of starvation (and thus lose their right to life). Unfortunately, by introducing the possibility of hoarding wealth through money, by encouraging the acquisitive instinct in man, and by basing social status on material wealth, lamented Nyerere, the Capitalist and money economy introduced into Africa by the trading and colonial powers undermined the very basis of traditional social life.[59] One of the major causes of economic inequality in Africa today was the super-imposition of Western Capitalism on African traditional communalism.

> The Capitalist and money economy ... operates on the basis of individualism; it encourages individual acquisitiveness and economic competition ... 'In the capitalist and money economy' ... the economic inequalities between men become so great that man's basic equality is imperceptibly transformed into a merchant and client relationship ... It is then impossible for all members of the society to discuss together as equals ... the common interest has been replaced by the interest of the "haves" and the "have-nots".[60]

Much as Nyerere did not want to deny the individual's right to private property, he came down heavily on any form of exploitation through the ownership of private property. He minced no words in cautioning the rich property owners and privileged merchants of Tanganyika that

they had no right to goods which they acquired through exploitation and compulsive wrongdoing.[61]

If a society is to be made up of equal citizens with equal rights, Nyerere argued, then each man must control his own means of production. Thus the farmer must own his own land, his hoe or his plough, and so on.

> When one man controls the means by which another earns or obtains the food, clothing and shelter which are essential to life, then there is no equality. One man must call another "master" - for he is the master of life as truly as if he had the power to kill with a gun. The man whose means of living are controlled by another, must serve the interests of this other regardless of his own desire or his own needs.[62]

Nyerere admitted that it was now impracticable to revert to the traditional way of life in which each farmer worked his own land with his own tools, and for his own family needs. To achieve rapid economic justice in our modern industrial age, Nyerere suggested that the "state must have effective control over the major means of production and must facilitate the collective ownership of the country's resources".[63]

One of the measures Nyerere took to translate the theoretical concept of economic equality into concrete reality was the nationalization in 1967 of all the major means of production. But inspite of his good intentions, Nyerere's effort to bring about economic equality was being frustrated by the emergence of an African petite bourgeoisie who paid lip-service to socio-economic equality.

The Critical Stage of the Struggle for Uhuru

It would betray extraordinary obtuseness to attempt an exposition of the UHURU (National Freedom) movement spearheaded by Julius Nyerere in Tanganyika, without taking account of the revolution in the world of thought, feeling and action which was taking place through all

British colonial empire at the turn of the 20th Century.[64] Great Britain ruled for several decades vast overseas colonies, taking from the colonized peoples their power to think for themselves and their right to make decisions over their own lives. The diffusionist British colonial policy robbed the colonized of their culture and "took the word out of their mouth".[65] Although this imperialist usurpation did arouse resentment, at times amounting to violent rejection, the colonial power offered no apologies for the systematic and often ruthless destruction of the colonized way of life. Lord Fredrick Lugard, for example, arrogantly maintained that the British considered it an obligation to humanity to spread British values and ideology in all her colonies. He wrote:

> As Roman imperialism laid the foundation of modern civilization, and led the wild barbarians of these islands (Britain) along the path of progress, so in Africa today we are repaying the debt and bringing to the dark places of the earth - the abode of barbarianism and cruelty - the tower of culture and progress.[66]

At the turn of the 20th Century the revolution against Great Britain was mounting. A handful of colonial educated intellectuals in the colonies was beginning to be self-assertive and very articulate in demanding the right to self government. First, it was East India which successfully fought for and won the right to national freedom; then followed the independence of Burma, Ceylon and Ghana. The example of these countries provided Nyerere with the impetus and set him thinking about Uhuru for his own country.

In April 1953, Nyerere was elected the president of The Tanganyika African Association (TAA), founded in 1929 as a social organization. It took Nyerere's powerful insight to realise that this association must

be made into a full-fledged political party if it was to be a force to be reckoned with in the constitutional reforms that were bound to take place in Tanganyika. On July 7th, 1954, under the able leadership of Nyerere, the moribund TAA was transformed into a new political party and renamed The Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU)*. So important was this day in the history of Tanganyika that July 7th is celebrated in Tanganyika as "Saba Saba" (the seventh day of the seventh month) and is usually a national holiday. From its inception TANU was a strong nationalist movement, backed by all the tribes and the chiefs and completely unidentifiable with any one particular tribe.[67]

As the chief policy maker of TANU, the aims and objectives espoused by TANU expose Nyerere's own philosophical thinking at this stage in his life. When TANU was born, Nyerere was 32. It was the arduous task of this young school teacher to abolish the "negative philosophy and politics of complaints"[68] which was rampant and to forge a viable philosophical system which would bring about freedom for all Tanganyikans to live a decent human life. The major objective of Nyerere was to prepare his people for Uhuru, by building up national consciousness especially among the Africans, and then to fight for independence. In his bitter and unceasing protest against the denial of political freedom to his people, Nyerere warned of the imminence of a shocking revolution.

> We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal, and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution - a revolution which brings to an end our weakness so that we are never again exploited, oppressed or humiliated.[69]

Nyerere's indomitable belief was that only the politics of Uhuru could give the people of Tanganyika the opportunity to revolutionize their

*Hereafter TANU is used throughout this thesis to refer to the ruling party in mainland Tanzania.

country and their own lives. Beginning at the grass-root level, Nyerere mounted a huge campaign to educate the masses concerning the implications of Uhuru. From the outset Nyerere impressed upon his people that Uhuru meant "not the right to a flag or a seat at the United Nations, but the right to determine our own policies in the light of our own interests".[70]

During the seven long years he campaigned for independence, Nyerere made it crystal clear to his people that the struggle for Uhuru was not a fight aimed at an imaginary enemy.

> If we must spend our brains we must not spend them planning or wondering how we are going to achieve our Uhuru. We must spend our brains, we must spend sleepless nights to see how we are going to give our people the water they need, to give them the schools they need, how we are going to give the people the health they require.[71]

Uhuru ought to be understood, Nyerere stressed, as a challenge and as a right "to work for ourselves, the right to design and build our own future".[72] Borrowing a page from Marxism, Uhuru meant for Nyerere "the ability to achieve totality of human goods, satisfactions and aspirations, material and spiritual - fundamental to which is the mastery and rational control of the processes of the production of the material conditions of human life".[73]

Nyerere regarded the struggle for Uhuru in a social and moral context. And it is here that a philosophical frame of reference particularly comes into play. Nyerere admitted in an interview with William Edget Smith, that he remained much more philosophical than political through out the struggle for Uhuru.[74] His focus of attention was the ethical implications of the denial of human equality and the effects of such denial on social organization. Despite constant

harassment from the colonial authorities, Nyerere was steadfast in pointing out the danger inherent in a situation, such as in Tanganyika, where economic divisions between the rich and the poor coincided almost exactly with the divisions between the races.

> Where ever extreme poverty exists beside a visibly high standard of living, there is the risk of bitterness; when the problem is linked with racial differences, it is far more potentially dangerous than in mono-racial societies.[75]

The fact that the African majority in Tanganyika was denied the right to self-determination by this same affluent minority made a potentially dangerous situation even worse.

After the formation of TANU in 1954, Nyerere was faced with a personal dilemma. He had been trained as a school teacher and he liked teaching. But all along, Nyerere had been active in the political and social affairs of his country. He was very conscious of the contribution he could make to the political emancipation of his colonized motherland. Many of his comrades and close associates also perceived the immense untapped political potentialities inherent in Nyerere.[76] Now it started to dawn on Nyerere that the position of leadership of the only national political party in Tanganyika, was not only very sensitive,[77] but it was also one that required a full-time job. It took Nyerere several agonizing months to make up his mind. When he finally decided in March 1955 to change from teacher to full-time politician, he was without a paying job. TANU did not have the money to pay Nyerere as its national president. Perhaps the simple reason Nyerere resigned from his teaching position knowing quite well he would be without pay, was because at this stage he saw politics as the career in which he could best give expression to his reforming concerns.

Between 1954 and 1955, Nyerere studied in great detail Gandhi's

writings on "non-violent" resistance. This was to be Nyerere's route to political independence for Tanganyika. However, it was the history of the Maji Maji revolt and its bloody consequences that was Nyerere's best teacher.

> Memories of the Hehe and Maji Maji wars against the German colonialists, and their ruthless suppression, were deeply ingrained in the minds of our people ... The people, particularly the elders, asked, How can we win without guns. How can we make sure that there is not going to be a repetition of the Hehe and Maji Maji wars.[78]

It was part of Nyerere's task to make his people understand that peaceful methods of struggle for independence were possible. Nyerere believed that not even the struggle for Uhuru should give the right to any person to follow the dictates of his whim and caprice. Such freedom, even if it is attained, Nyerere contended, easily degenerates into the so-called freedom of anarchism. Such type of freedom ultimately leads to the destruction of freedom. The struggle for Uhuru was not a call to violence and anarchism, but a call to the knowledge of specific necessities, especially the necessity of human equality and the freedom to make intelligent choices of the means to attain immediate and distant human goals.

In December 1961, Tangayika attained political independence. It was now up to Nyerere to evoke practical principles - based on his theory of human equality - which would guide action and judgment-making in the realm of day-to-day social policy. Since the concept of equality is basic to Nyerere's philosophy we shall return to the subject frequently throughout this thesis.

NOTES

[1]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 21.

[2]Nyerere's preoccupation with equality and social justice goes back to his Tabora secondary school days. As a philosopher-president, Nyerere has categorically stated that human equality is the essence of socialism. No matter the subject of his public address or writing, Nyerere has always managed to return to the subject of equality and the evils that arise from its denial.

[3]A.M. Kazamias and B.G. Massailes. Tradition and Change in Education. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965, p. 116.

[4]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 22.

[5]J.K. Nyerere. "The Varied Paths to Socialism". See Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., p. 303. Also see, A.J. Ayer. The Concept of a Person and Other Essays. New York: Macmillan, 1963. W.G. MacLagan. "Respect for Persons as a Moral Principle" in Philosophy. July 1960.

[6]J.K. Nyerere. "The Varied Paths to Socialism". Op. cit., p. 303.

[7]Ibid

[8]John Hatch. Two African Statesmen. Op. cit., p. xv.

[9]Ibid, p. xiii.

[10]Bernard Williams. "The Ideal of Equality" in Philosophy, Politics and Society. Op. cit., pp. 110-131. Also see, Justice and Equality, edited by Hugo Bedau. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

[11]J.R. Lucas. "Against Equality" in Philosophy 40, October, 1965, pp. 296-307.

[12]See: Genealogy of Morals. Translated by H.B. Samuels. New York: Macmillan, 1924.

[13]Allan Bullock. Hitler: A Study in Tyranny. London: Odhams Press, 1952, p. 362.

[14]Julius Nyerere began his studies at Makerere College during the latter half of the Second World War. Naturally he was interested in the great debate about Fascism, Communism and Capitalism that was going on both at the College and around the world at this time.

[15]Adolf Hitler. Mein Kampf. Translated by Ralph Manhelm. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943. For an abridged and very readable edition of Mein Kampf see: Adolf Hitler: My Struggle. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1938.

[16]John Strawson. Hitler As Military Commander. London: B.T. Batsford, 1971.

[17]J.K. Nyerere. "Socialism is not Racialism", see Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., p. 258.

[18]The Maji Maji War was fought in 1905-1908 between the largest tribes in Southern Tanzania and the Germans. An enormous amount of research has been undertaken in respect of the Maji Maji uprising. For details see: Maji Maji Research Project Collected Papers. Dar es Salaam: Department of History, University College of DES, 1968.

[19]William E. Smith. "Profiles: Julius K. Nyerere". New Yorker, Part II, October 23rd, 1971, p. 48.

[20]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 13.

[21]J.K. Nyerere. "Independence Address to the United Nations". Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., pp. 145-146; also see, p. 303. Nyerere's line of argument could better be understood from reading: Herbert Spiegelberg. "A Defense of Human Equality". Philosophical Review, Vol. 53, 1944, pp. 101-123.

[22]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 2.

[23]John Mbiti. African Religions and Philosophy. Op. cit., pp. 35-129. Also see, Bolaji Idowu. "God" in Biblical Revelation and African Beliefs. Edited by John Mbiti. New York: Orbis Books, 1969, p. 28.

[24]Kwame Nkrumah. Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism. Accra: The Spark Publications, 1964, p. 47.

[25]Leopold S. Senghor. On African Socialism. New York: Praeger, 1964.

[26]J.K. Nyerere. "The African and Democracy" in African Speaks. Edited by J. Duffy and R. Manners. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961.

[27]J.K. Nyerere. Extracts from "The African and Democracy". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 103.

[28]These views are open to criticism as romantic, see pp. 71-74

[29]See note No. 5. Ibid. For more reading on what constitutes human worth, see: Equality. Edited by J.R. Pennock and J.W. Chapman. New York: Atherton Press, 1967.

[30]Gregory Vlastos. "Justice and Equality" in Social Justice. Edited by Richard Brandt. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 31.

[31]Without being too philosophical about it, the point Nyerere intends to make here is to distinguish equality from sameness. For further study of this topic see: C.J.B. Macmillan. "Equality and Sameness" in Studies in Philosophy and Education, Vol. III, No. 4, 1964, pp. 320-332.

[32]J.K. Nyerere. "The Varied Paths to Socialism". Op. cit., p. 303.

[33]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 15.

[34]R.S. Peters. Ethics and Education. Op. cit., p. 122.

[35]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 15.

[36]Ibid

[37]Bernard A.O. Williams. "The Ideal of Equality". Op. cit., p. 124.

[38]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., p. 23.

[39]Ibid, p. 303.

[40]Joel Feinberg. Social Philosophy. Op. cit., pp. 93-94.

[41]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 1.

[42]Such Manifestos include: The American Declaration of Independence (1776); The French Declaration of Rights of Man and of Citizens (1789); The Communist Manifesto (1882); The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948); The Charter of the Organization of African Unity (1963), etc.

[43]J.K. Nyerere. "The Purpose Is Man". See, Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., 325.

[44]J.K. Nyerere. "The Race Problem in East Africa". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 23.

[45]William Duggan and John Civille. Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationhood. New York: Orbis Books, 1976, p. 46.

[46]J.K. Nyerere. "Tanganyika will be Predominantly African". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 64.

[47]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 4.

[48]Ibid, p. 21.

[49]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., p. 30.

[50]Ibid, p. 27.

[51]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 3.

[52]J.K. Nyerere. "Tanganyika will be Predominantly African". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 63.

[53]J.K. Nyerere. "The Race Problem in East Africa". Op. cit., p. 24.

[54]Ibid

[55]Nicholas Rescher. Distributive Justice. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966. Also see: John Rawls. "Distributive Justice: Addenda", in Natural Law Forum, Vol. 13, 1968.

[56]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 17.

[57]Ahmed Sekou Toure. Political Leadership as the Representative of a Culture. New York: Jihad Production, n.d., p. 7.

[58]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 10.

[59]Ibid, p. 11.

[60]Ibid

[61]Knut Erik Svenden. "Socialist Problems After the Arusha Declaration" in East Africa Journal, Vol. iv, No. 2, May 1967. Also see: J.K. Nyerere. "Socialism is not Racialism", Appendix 11. The Arusha Declaration. Dar es Salaam: TANU Pamphlet, 1967, p. 27.

[62]J.K. Nyerere. "The Varied Paths to Socialism". Op. cit., p. 304.

[63]J.K. Nyerere. "Arusha Declaration". See, Ujamaa-Essays on Socialism. Op. cit., p. 16.

[64]See, Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui (eds.). Protest and Power in Black Africa. London: Oxford University, 1970. Also see: Ali A. Mazrui. On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship: Essays on Independent Africa. London: Longmans, 1967.

[65]Paulo Freire. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Op. cit., p. 150.

[66]See, Martin Carnoy. Education as Cultural Imperialism. New York: David McKay, 1974, frontpiece page.

[67]J.K. Nyerere. "Five TANU Ministers". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 68.

[68]William E. Smith. A Portrait of Africa's Julius K. Nyerere. Op. cit.

[69]J.K. Nyerere. "Arusha Declaration". See Ujamaa-Essays on Socialism. Op. cit., p. 18.

[70]J.K. Nyerere. "Opening of the University College Campus". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 314.

[71]J.K. Nyerere. "The African and Democracy". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 102.

[73]John Lewis. Marxism and the Open Mind. New York: Paine-Whitman Publishers, 1957, p. 79.

[74]William E. Smith. New Yorker, October 16th, 1971, p. 79.

[75]J.K. Nyerere. "The Race Problem Demands Economic Action". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 73.

[76]John Hatch. Two African Statesmen. Op. cit., pp. 92-95.

[77]All government school teachers were forbidden to take part in politics. Although Nyerere was teaching in a Roman Catholic School, the missionaries who employed him often were pressured by the British colonial governor to restrain Nyerere from engaging in political activities.

[78]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 2.

CHAPTER III

NYERERE'S SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (1961-1966)

In Search of a Political Philosophy

Throughout the struggle for Uhuru Nyerere based his position on "the belief in the equality of human beings, in their rights and in their duties as human beings and in the equality of citizens in their rights and duties as citizens".[1] This emphasis on the moral nature of the struggle for Uhuru created among the people of the Tanganyika certain expectations about the actions of their independent nation and its leadership.

> TANU called for equality; our people now expect it. We called for human respect; out people now demand that their leaders accord it to everyone regardless of his economic or social degree. We called for equality of opportunity; our people are now critical that this does not exist. It is these moral expectations which create both the problems and the opportunities in the very different circumstances of the post-independence period in Tanzania.[2]

Nyerere was faced, now that Uhuru had been attained, with the problem of evolving a political philosophy which would address itself to the increasing demand for social and economic equality in a country where the "haves" are generally the immigrant minorities, and the "have-nots" are the indigenous majority.[3]

As Nyerere made clear in his "Independence Message to TANU":

> We have been talking for a long time about what sort of house we want to build on this land. Now we have the chance to do it ... We have agreed that our nation shall be a nation of free and equal citizens, each person having an equal right and opportunity to develop himself and contribute to the maximum of his capabilities to the development of our society.

> We have said that neither race nor tribe nor religion nor cleverness nor anything else, could take away from a man his own rights as an equal member of society. THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE NOW TO PUT INTO PRACTICE.[4]

Nyerere admitted that a complication in the social structure of Tanganyika made it imperative to raise the standard of living for the common people in the shortest possible time. If the gap between the rich and the poor did not become less glaring and, especially, if differences in social and economic status were not freed from their link with racial divisions then, the newly won independence will be simply good for nothing.[5]

What Nyerere needed at this stage was a social theory the conclusion of which he could state in practical terms. As there are several models in terms of which human experience can be conceived, Nyerere's major task, at this stage, was to assist his people to understand themselves and their universe through an analysis of a coherent model of political thinking and acting.[6] Since the time of the Greek philosophers men have tried to conceive their social existence by analogy with various models. According to Isaiah Berlin, Plato tried to frame his system of human nature, its attributes and goals, following a geometrical pattern since he thought it would explain all there was. So, too, the biological pattern of Aristotle, and the many Christian images with which the writings of the "Fathers" as well as the Old and New Testaments abound. These models are represented in the notion of a great human orchestra in which every man has a particular score, for which he is a particular instrument. There is the analogy of the family, which casts light upon human relations not provided by a mechanical model (such as that

of Hobbes). Then there is the notion of an army on the march with its emphasis on such virtues as loyalty, dedication, obedience, needed to overtake and crush the enemy. All these and many besides are models in terms of which human beings, solitary thinkers as well as groups and societies, have conceived of their experience.[7]

The traditional African family pattern provided Nyerere with a model through which he thought about human nature, its attributes and goals. Nyerere's aspiration was to extend the traditional African family pattern which was based on the principles of "equality, freedom and unity",[8] to the modern nation-state setting. In other words, the model of the democratic society Nyerere hoped to bring about in Tanganyika was to be equivalent to the traditional close-knit African extended family. In 1962, Nyerere articulated his thoughts concerning the path he wanted Tanganyika to take in a paper entitled: "Ujamaa -- The Basis of African Socialism."[9] Ujamaa was the name Nyerere decided to call his philosophy of socialism.[10]

In the early stages, it was very difficult to define Ujamaa.[11] Part of the reason was because, as Cranford Pratt cautiously puts it, the socialism in which Nyerere believed owed little to Marxian or to European democratic socialism.

> There are parallels between his theories of socialism and the theories of some other socialists just as there are parallels between his democratic theory and the writings of Rousseau. But in each case these are parallels rather than derivatives.[12]

Nyerere sought the foundation for his Ujamaa in the African tradition of kin and tribe, stressing the socialist "attitude of mind which in the tribal days gave to every individual the security that comes of

belonging to a widely extended family".[13] So seemingly unorthodox was Nyerere's concept of Ujamaa that a communist seminar held in Prague in 1963 did not hesitate to excommunicate Nyerere. In May 1963, Khrushchev himself pronounced an anathema on Nyerere's brand of socialism, on the grounds that there was only one true socialism, that is, the Marxist scientific socialism.[14]

What is the meaning of Ujamaa? Out of the maze of sometimes overlaid definitions, two important elements are most identifiable with Nyerere's concept of Ujamaa. The first has to do with the rejection of the colonialist attitude of mind and the recapturing of the traditional African "attitude of mind". This aspect may be referred to as the dissociative element of Ujamaa. It is dissociative in the sense that it draws attention to the existence of a mode of production and a state of mind that is antithetical to the traditional African experience.[15] Nyerere felt the need to take steps to overcome these contradictions. And part of the collective and ethical aspects of overcoming these contradictions, Nyerere contended, was the recapturing of the traditional African "attitude of mind".[16] The second element of Ujamaa was not spelt out until 1967 in the historic document: "The Arusha Declaration".[17] Here the developmental aspect of Ujamaa was emphasized, as the philosophy of Ujamaa was put into practice. In the "Ujamaa villages"[18] the peasant population live a cooperative, commune type of life which made possible the provisions of the basic necessities of life, such as, food, shelter, schools, health care and adequate water supply.[19] Since this chapter is concerned primarily with the pre-Arusha notion of Ujamaa, our emphasis here will be on the dissociative element of Ujamaa.

Ujamaa as "Attitude of Mind"

Basic to Nyerere's philosophy of socialism was his insistence that Ujamaa was an "attitude of mind".[20] What exactly did the cultivation of the Ujamaa attitude of mind imply for Nyerere? In answering, it becomes necessary to digress a bit, to examine the notion of attitude formation in general. According to Ramon J. Rhine, an attitude of mind is based on the individual's mental adaptation to his experiences. It is a more or less permanently enduring state of readiness of mental organization which predisposes an individual to react in a characteristic way to any object or situation with which he is related.[21] Nyerere's objective in stressing the dissociative element of Ujamaa was to provide a new structure of value orientation which would predispose his people to effect a change of attitude at a philosophic level. Hence Nyerere's call for a recapturing of the traditional attitude of mind could be said to represent a value or a "slogan capable of providing for the rationalizations of action by encapsulating a positive attitude towards a beneficial state of affairs".[22]

Without any claims to intellectual pretensions, Nyerere's aim was to polarize the disequilibrated Tanganyikan societal values into one group of attitudes which were needed to change the structure of the present system, as opposed to the colonial value system which alienated the African from his past, while maintaining the status quo. Among the values which were rooted in the African past were certain attitudes, such as (a) the attitude of self-esteem, (b) the attitude of cooperation, and (c) the attitude of regarding wealth not as an instrument of domination but as a means of banishing poverty in

the community.[23] These were some of the attitudes of the African past Nyerere wanted to rejuvenate.

The Attitude of Self-Esteem

Many decades of colonization had created in the African a deep seated "inferiority complex", coupled with a crisis of identity. In Tanganyika, as was true of all the former colonized emergent nations of Africa, the African man was in search of his identity.[24] To paraphrase Robert Lane, identity refers to firstly, self-image, the awareness of one's own ideas and desires, secondly, self-description, the individual's thought about his personal characteristics, and thirdly, self-esteem, the approval of one's self and ideas.[25] The colonial tactic eroded the very foundation of traditional African personality. The aim was to make sure that the African looked at himself only in terms of the whiteman and that he acted only by imitation, never from personal reflection. This tactic was exemplified in the modernization paradigm of development prevalent in British Overseas colonies at the turn of this century.[26] Emphasis was placed on the education of a small elitist group, which was supposed to be the system innovators. Thus the colonial overlords and their hand-picked African collaborators usurped the roles of "the thinker and the innovator". All the thinking and all the changes were made for the colonized African.[27] In a situation such as we have just described, the African's self-image, his self-description and his self-esteem were laid to rest. His reflective and creative thinking habit was inhibited because of the shifting of the centre of political action and decision from the tribal environment where the elders were

accustomed "to sit under the tree and talk until they agree,"[28] to the colonial metropole.

The colonial school system, based on a harsh socialization philosophy, taught the Africans who were privileged to have formal education to be submissive and content with their status in life. As Albert Memmi provokingly remarks, all who pass through a colonial school system cannot but imbibe a depersonalizing colonial mentality. The first ambition of the colonized, notes Memmi, is to become equal to that splendid model (colonizer) and to resemble him to the point of disappearing in him.[29] The African was mis-educated to think that the only way to human dignity and self-esteem was to barter all he is and all he had for the Western way of life. Of all the crimes of colonialism, writes Nyerere:

> There is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless -- something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride... Those of us who acquired a European type of education, set ourselves out to prove to our colonial rulers that we had become 'civilized'; and by that we meant that we had abandoned everything connected with our own past and learnt to imitate only European ways. Our young men's ambition was not to become well educated Africans but to become Black Europeans! Indeed, at one time it was a compliment rather than an insult to call a man who had imitated the Europeans a 'Black European'.[30]

It was, no doubt, in the best interest of the colonial rulers to destroy the "identity" of the colonized, because as Paulo Freire explains:

> For the cultural invasion to succeed it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. The more invasion is accentuated and those invaded are alienated from the spirit of their own culture

> and from themselves, the more the latter want to be like the invaders, to walk like them, talk like them.[31]

Nyerere was convinced that a recapturing of the traditional African identity could help his people achieve psychological emancipation. By stressing the attitude of self-esteem, Nyerere hoped to arouse the critical consciousness of Africans to awaken to the challenge posed by many years of colonialism and repression.

No one was more aware than Nyerere that a man's estimation of himself as a person, is one of the dynamic sources of ideas. It was imperative to do something to destroy the colonial myth which made the African think very poorly of himself and his abilities, thus effectively shutting himself off from the world of ideas. The power to think and to give birth to ideas was to be the foundation stone of the new Tanganyika Nyerere hoped to create. In his speech to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in 1963, Nyerere let it be known:

> One of the basic purposes of the Independence struggle is to get the right to think for ourselves and apply the results of our thinking. We did not carry on...bitter fight for freedom in order that we may become jumping jackasses, which wait to see what a Western or an Eastern power will say about an idea before automatically doing likewise.[32]

If it is true, as Crane Brinton has suggested, "no ideas, no revolution,"[33] it is little wonder why Nyerere linked idea-systems unequivocally with the process of revolutionary change he wished to bring about in Tanganyika. He saw the attitude of approval of one's self and ideas as a necessary pre-requisite to the success of his social reforms. Such an attitude of mind would enable the young and old to reconstruct the traditional African process of reflective thinking and action which once gave meaning and value to life long before the Western

intrusion.

Attitude of Cooperation:

A socialist, in Nyerere's thought, is one who believes in human equality and the common historical destiny of mankind; one who has mutual respect and care for his fellow man; one who is more keen on cooperation than on competition with his fellow man. And a socialist society is a society of men with the above attitude of mind.[34] The Ujamaa attitude of cooperation, as espoused by Nyerere, had an ethical meaning which implied the political, economic and social well-being of every single member of the society. Once again, Nyerere drew on the lessons of the traditional institution of the extended family. The traditional African family life was based on the cooperative principle which virtually excluded the idea that one member of the extended family could kill another or steal from another. There was an attitude of mutual respect and reciprocation, and every member of the extended family accepted the obligation to cooperate in all things for the common good.[35] In this traditional setting, each individual had equal human dignity, each individual had freedom; no one was ever in want as everyone enjoyed cooperative experience and group living which made all members of the extended family happy, both individually and socially. According to Nyerere:

> Traditional African society was not called "socialist"; it was just life. Yet it was socialist in the principles upon which it was based. It involved human equality and it involved mutual responsibility, with every member of the community being concerned about the work and welfare of every other member.[36]

The spirit of individualism was never a feature of traditional

African community. In the tribal community in which Nyerere grew up, people were always conscious of their common destiny and existence was defined in collective, not in individual, terms.

> Africa is essentially a country of community government; collective life and social solidarity give its habits a fund of humanism which many peoples might envy. It is also because of these human qualities that a human being in Africa cannot conceive the organization of his life outside that of the family, village or clan. The voice of the African peoples has no features, no name, no individual ring.[37]

Traditional tribal politics dealt with the affairs of the whole community; its objective was the common good of all. Nyerere believed that neither the individual nor the society can be conceived in splendid isolation. The individual needs to learn to cooperate with the society in order to achieve his full potential ; no man can live and act in complete isolation. On the other hand, society is not a self-sufficient entity, it is made for man and it is individuals in their manifold relations and interactions to each other.[38]

Nyerere's emphasis on the attitude of cooperation springs from the traditional African communalism which engendered a solidarity or "the bonds that hold individuals together in terms of shared and common emotions, about the same highly valued ideas and objects".[39] On account of this solidarity, the individual could say, "I am because we are and since we are, therefore I am".[40] We in Africa, argued Nyerere, have no need of being converted to socialism. This was because "socialism is rooted in our own past, and in the traditional society which produced us".[41] Nyerere saw a definite continuity of traditional communalism with Ujamaa. This is perhaps why he did not regard Ujamaa as a revolutionary creed in the Marxist-

Leninist sense.[42] For Nyerere, Ujamaa was at this stage, primarily a revolution in thinking and a revolution in African attitudes towards their rich history and cultural heritage. All that was necessary to achieve Ujamaa from traditional communalism, in Nyerere's words was "a revolution with a purpose".[43] The purpose of such a reform or revolution consisted in re-educating the Africans to regain their former attitude of mind.

In the traditional African society, the individuals within the community took care of the community and the community took care of the individuals. The African has traditionally been "socialistic". For this reason, Nyerere stressed the fact that Ujamaa was hardly more than a restatement in contemporary idiom of the princ iples of cooperation, mutual respect, and so on, underlyin traditional communalism.[44] Modern African socialism, affirmed Nyerere, can draw from its traditional heritage the recognition of society as an extention of the basic family unit. But it can no longer confine the idea of a social family within the limits of the tribe, nor indeed, of the nation. Our recognition of the family to which we all belong, continued Nyerere, must be extended to embrace the whole society of mankind.[45] The Ujamaa attitude of cooperation, mutual respect, concern and responsibility give an ethical ring to Nyerere's socialism. It makes sure, that "the supreme test of all political institutions and industrial arrangements shall be the contributions they make to the all-round growth of every member of the society".[46]

Attitude Towards Wealth

A very important aspect of the cultivation of the Ujamaa

"attitude of mind" implies a radical change in the concept of wealth. Many cynics doubt Nyerere's sincerity in audaciously declaring that "there are more important things in life than the amassing of riches, and that if the pursuit of wealth clashes with things like human dignity and social equality, then the latter will be given priority".[47] How could a philosopher-president of one of the poorest countries in the world indulge in such wishful thinking, the skeptic asks. How does Nyerere hope to deal with the problem of incentives with such an idealistic attitude towards wealth? The answer lies in Nyerere's understanding of the meaning and purpose of wealth.

To Nyerere, the only purpose of wealth is the banishment of poverty. He saw nothing wrong with a person wanting to be wealthy, but the coveting of wealth for the purpose of exploitation was incompatible with Ujamaa.

> The moment wealth is divorced from its purpose, which is the banishment of poverty, there develops a ruthless competition between individuals, each person tries to get more wealth, simply so that he will have more power and more prestige than his fellows. Wealth becomes an instrument of domination, a means of humiliating other people. The very basis of socialism is the rejection of this use of wealth.[48]

Nyerere believed that a society that stresses material wealth and success at all costs puts a great deal of pressure on the individual who does not succeed, who starts out from a position of poverty or who finds opportunity blocked because of social inequality. Such a person may resort to anti-Ujamaa behaviour not because he is poorly socialized but because he is too well trained in prevailing values of society. He accepts the capitalist values of the dominant society.

He nourishes dreams for economic success, dreams to acquire as much wealth and power as possible. If he does not know how to handle such dreams and aspirations, he resorts to activities which betray the national interests and the common good for personal gain to attain his goals.[49]

Nyerere is opposed to capitalist values and refuses to accept the doctrinaire Western European socialists glorification of "capitalism as the father of socialism".[50] However, Nyerere does not condemn capitalism per se, but some specific exploitative tendencies inherent in being a capitalist.

> In the individual, as in the society, it is an attitude of mind which distinguishes the socialist from the non-socialist. It has nothing to do with the possession or non-possession of wealth. Destitute people can be potential capitalists - exploiters of their fellow human beings. A millionaire can equally well be a socialist; he may value his wealth only because it can be used in the service of his fellow men. But the man who uses wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows is a capitalist. So is the man who would if he could![51]

Mention has already been made of Nyerere's bitter indictment of the introduction of Capitalism with its lust for economic competition and individual acquisitiveness into Africa. This undermined the attitude of traditional family life and communalism where "nobody starved, whether of food or human dignity, because he lacked personal wealth; he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member".[52] Instead of this communitarian attitude to wealth, capitalism introduced economic competition not to obtain the basic necessities of life, but a competition for wealth based on greed and the desire to get more power and more prestige for the

purpose of dominating somebody else. Nyerere proposes a radical change in the attitude to wealth and material possessions. He is conscious of the obvious fact that on account of differences in abilities and talents, some people will always have more wealth than others. But he indignantly observes that "there must be something wrong in a society where one man, however hard-working or clever he may be, can acquire as great a 'reward' as a thousand of his fellows can acquire between them".[53]

Towards a National Ethic:

In a moving speech before the Legislative Assembly on June 28, 1962, Nyerere emphasized how important it was for Tanganyika to have a national ethic if she was to preserve her Ujamaa way of life and protect her citizens from the tyranny which man often inflicts on man. The point must be made, he argued that ultimately the safeguard of the people's rights, the people's freedom and those things which they value, "is the ethic of the nation".[54] Nyerere himself has outlined the following eight ethical principles which lie at the basis of the philosophy of Ujamaa:

1. The fundamental equality of all human beings and the right of every individual to dignity and respect.

2. Every Tanganyika citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to an equal part in government at local, regional and national level.

3. Every individual citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief, of association within the context of the law, subject in all cases only to the maintenance of equal freedom for all other citizens.

4. Every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life, and of property held according to law, and to freedom from arbitrary arrest.

5. Every individual citizen has the right to receive just return for his labour, whether by hand or brain.

6. All the citizens of the country together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants, and these resources may therefore not be surrendered in perpetuity to any individual, family, group or association.

7. It is the responsibility of the State, which is the people, to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens of Tanganyika, and so as to prevent the exploitation of any person, or the accumulation of wealth which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

8. The nation of Tanganyika is unalterably opposed to the exploitation of one man by another, of one nation by another, or one group by another. It is the responsibility of the state, therefore, to take an active role in the fight against colonialism whereever it may exist, and to work for African Unity, and for worldpeace and international cooperation on the basis of human equality and freedom.[55]

An examination of the eight principles above show how Nyerere's concept of a national ethic deals with his consistent and persistent expression of moral concerns. Nyerere was of the opinion that man is basically a moral actor as a "responder" and an "initiator" in a socio-historical process. And the basis of all moral response and initiation is an acceptance of the principle of human equality, mutual love and respect and the ability to share with others.[56] Nyerere's central philosophy of Ujamaa could be rightly described as basically moralistic. Not only did his numerous writings and speeches contain a battery of attacks and moral outrage against man's inhumanity to man, but he often focused on the cultivation of desirable virtues.

It was in this positive vein that he proposed, (a) a work ethic designed to save Tanganyika from both moral and economic shipwreck and (b) a communitarian ethic based on his conviction that the highest form of moral obligation of the individual is to fulfil his duty of concern for the welfare of his fellow man.

(a) Soon after his return from the United Kingdom as the first Tanganyikan indigenous citizen to obtain a Master of Arts degree, Nyerere made up his mind to build a family house for his mother. When he began to make mud bricks by himself, his comrades and the villagers started to laugh and ask: "Why is he doing such work?" Nyerere's answer was simple and to the point. "I went for an education", he said. "Everybody who has an education must work."[57] This brief response best exemplifies Nyerere's concept of work. He criticized the neo-colonial attitude towards work, suggesting instead a socialist work ethic based on the premise of work by all, exploitation by none. Nyerere sought to restore the traditional dignity of human labour.

The centre piece of Nyerere's work ethic was inspired by the traditional African model which imposed upon all the members of the community an unconditional demand to work.

> Every member of the social unit had the obligation to contribute to the pool of things which were to be shared. In other words, every member of the family was expected to work and accepted the responsibility of working.[58]

Before the cultural invasion of Africa, the African thought of work as a joy, work was creative. It was, as it were, a privilege to be able to work and thus to participate in the creative efforts of the gods. Nyerere lamented the prevailing neo-colonial philosophy of work which operated on the assumption of man being in opposition to

work. This outlook perceived work as something of a "punishment", something to be avoided.[59]

Nyerere's work ethic was aimed at abolishing the exploitative principle of unequal social organization which made the "educated elite" scorn work in general, especially, physical labour. Nyerere hoped to disabuse the minds of his people of the false notion that there were two groups of people, those who have labour for a living and those who spend their time in idle intellectual contemplation. An unmistakable reason for the contempt for work, among the educated Africans, could be attributed to the Greek dualistic view of man which the Western colonial rulers inherited and transferred to Africa.[60] The colonial socialization policy introduced into Africa dualism between the rational element of man and the lower elements or the appetites. On this basis people were stratified into two classes. That is, the class of those who use their reason and the class of those who function at the appetitive level. Reason was deemed superior to appetite not only because rationality is thought to be what places man on a higher plane among all other animals, but also because reason is the controller of all the other elements in man. Hence the class of those who functioned at the rational level (the elites, the ruling class, the educated folks) claimed exemption from work. Their time was to be spent in reflective contemplation and in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. On the other hand, the farmers, the factory worker, the artisan, who functioned at the appetite level, were doomed to a life of service. They were committed to executing tasks imposed on them by the superior, intellectual, class of men. This type of philosophy of work permeated the Tanganyikan

socio-political structure which Nyerere inherited at independence.

In Tanganyika, there were two classes: the white-collar class and the illiterate labouring masses. The educated minority not only looked down on work but many of them were firmly indoctrinated to think that the artisans, the farmers and other workers were intended by nature to serve their (educated elites) interests. Nyerere contended that there was no such thing as a dichotomy between intellectual pursuits and work in general. Every person who had an education must work. In other words, an education is a call to work, not an escape route to contemplative idleness. Nyerere pointed out that there cannot be such a thing as socialism without work by all.

> A society which fails to give its individuals the means to work, or having given them the means to work, prevents them from getting a fair share of the products of their own sweat and toil, needs putting right. Similarly, an individual who can work -- and is provided by society with the means to work -- but does not do so, is equally wrong.[61]

In the traditional African community "loitering was an unthinkable disgrace".[62] In an outburst of anti-capitalist sentiments, Nyerere referred to the so-called "men of reason", the class of the wealthy entrepreneurs and white-collar landlords, as "Loiterers" who belonged to the class of mean "parasites".[63] The capitalist entrepreneurial attitudes, according to Nyerere, encouraged economic determinism and the formation of a wage-labouring group whose livelihood depended absolutely upon the sale of their labour power in the exploitative capitalist market.

While condemning the exploitative employer-employee relationship, Nyerere argued that the use of the word "worker" in its specialized sense of "employee" as opposed to "employer" reflected a capitalist

attitude of mind and was totally foreign to the African way of thinking. In the old days, according to Nyerere, the African had never had labourers or "factory hands" to do his work for him.[64] On account of changing family, economic and social structures Nyerere admits that the productive enterprise has to be separated from the traditional household. However, instead of being left in the hands of private entrepreneurs, Nyerere thinks that a modern equivalent of the traditional extended family kinship unit can provide the Ujamaa forms of economic cooperation. Within such a set-up, Nyerere explains, labour discipline could be enhanced not for the sake of any personal aggrandisement, but for the purpose of augmenting the economic position of the entire community. Whereas the capitalist entrepreneurs exploit the workers or the society for their own private interests, workers in the type of modern cooperative community Nyerere has in mind, would have reasonable conditions of service and salaries in proportion to their output in a well-managed community concern: above all, there will be equality of human dignity and mutual respect among all the workers.[65]

In Nyerere's work ethic, the ethos is neither of the neo-colonial contemptuous or at best leisurely attitude towards work, nor of the tendency to ostentatious living and conspicuous consumption. It is an ethic of earnest work by all, an ethic of frugality and dedication to the common good.[66] Nyerere distinguishes between the satisfaction of the basic needs and mere acquisition of money because of the worldly pleasures which it can purchase. The needs, towards which all must contribute by working to the limit of their ability, are the goods and services necessary to live a decent and dignified

life in a classless society.[67] According to Nyerere, there is no meaning to the restless acquisitive activity, when a person is never satisfied no matter how much wealth he has. The spirit behind the desire of the employer to exploit the employee to maximise his own profit and accumulate more and more wealth, observes Nyerere, must be interpreted as a vote of no confidence in the social system.

> For when a society is so organized that it cares about its individuals, then, provided that he is willing to work, no individual within that society should worry about what will heppen to him tomorrow if he does not hoard wealth today. Society itself should look after him, or his widow or his orphans. This is exactly what traditional African society succeeded in doing. Both the 'rich' and the 'poor' individual were completely secure in African society.[68]

Nyerere's aspiration was to evolve a work ethic which would recapture the sense of security which every individual felt within the traditional African society.

(b) For a country to deserve admiration or respect; for a country to truly live up to the ideal of egalitarianism, Nyerere believed there had to be a code of conduct dedicated to human fellowship and service. This would involve the building of the moral character of each and every member of the society. It required "an attitude of mind which will enable us to live together with our fellow citizens of Tanganyika and of the whole world, in mutual friendliness and cooperation".[69] So important is the idea of caring for and sharing with others, to Nyerere, that it could be said that he firmly believed that it is in caring about others that we become what we ought to be.

Nyerere considered certain socialist moral conduct as the ultimate goal all Tanganyikans should seek. And since, for Nyerere, morality is

a question of doing good as well as being good,[70] he emphasized the cultivation of a socialist personality. He drew lavishly on traditional African philosophy to establish the criteria for an ideal M-jamaa (socialist). Among the many qualities of a true socialist the following are examined in this dissertation: kindness, integrity and modesty.

Kindness implied, for Nyerere, love of neighbor as oneself on the basis of equality. It is sharing with others, especially the less fortunate, on the basis of mutual respect. A good socialist must be kind, he must care and he must be prepared to share himself and the fruits of his work with his community.[71] A communitarian ethic based on this concept of kindness is opposed to all acts of selfish behavior and egotism. Selfish behavior not only destroys the close bonds of kinship within the society but is very fertile ground for the competitive and senseless exploitation of man by his fellow man. In the words of Abraham Edel:

> An extreme competitive-success society establishes exploitative conduct as a realistic mode of achieving desirable goals. It penalizes thereby those whose attitudes in interpersonal relations have a quality of kindness, warmth and concern for others - the kind of qualities contemporary psychology has found desirable in sound human personal development. Thus a man who is moved by humane considerations in a business deal, to his financial detriment, is often regarded as "weak".[72]

This sad state of affairs which Edel describes was what Nyerere wanted to neutralize by eulogizing the virtue of kindness.

Integrity as it relates to a communitarian ethic means being honest in all of one's dealings with one's fellow man. The greatest enemy of integrity to which Nyerere addressed himself was bribery

and corruption.

> I think corruption must be treated with ruthlessness because I believe myself corruption and bribery is a greater enemy to the welfare of a people in a peacetime than war. I believe myself corruption in a country should be treated in almost the same way as you treat treason.[73]

Nyerere called on his people, whether in private or public life, whether in the trade unions, in the cooperative movement, whether in the civil service or in the government itself, to strive to be above corruption. Without integrity he maintained, "I cannot see how the people of Tanganyika are going to get the true benefits of the independence for which they have been struggling".[74]

In his book, East Africa: The Past in Chains The Future in Pawn, Albert Meisten categorically claims that all East African leaders are seekers of pomp and luxurious style of life. The very close identification with the leaders and the personalization of relations between them and the masses, Albert Meisten observes, make a luxurious type of life necessary, as "the luxury surrounding the leaders rubs off on the masses, becoming theirs a little".[75] Apart from commenting that Dr. Meisten's false generalization is a wicked myth calculated to boost the Overseas capitalist economy (all the luxury items are imported into East Africa) Nyerere's simple style of life and above all Nyerere's popular dictum that "pomposity in all its forms is wrong",[76] belies the sweeping statement of Meisten. At least, Nyerere is one East African leader who has a simple life style. His philosophy of Ujamaa is based on theory and practice, there is saying and there is doing. And Nyerere sets the example of modesty

before his people. He believes that actions speak louder than words. So the change of attitude of mind he preaches, he puts into practice in his own personal life and in all his social reforms. There is no doubt that the colossal vanity of Kwame Nkrumah militated against the socialist virtue of modesty he so very often preached to his people.[77] Nyerere is very careful to avoid this type of pitfall. By not surrounding himself with all sorts of luxuries, Nyerere exemplified his egalitarian creed by demonstrating that "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander".

The concept of a national ethic is an extension of the attitude of mind which Nyerere wishes to bring about in the new Tanganyikan society. It spells out the conditions of work and the standard of moral conduct in a classless society.

How Far is the Ujamaa Concept Valid?

According to Nyerere, the foundation and objective of African socialism is Ujamaa, a word which "denotes the kind of life lived by man and his family - father, mother, children and near relatives."[78] Nyerere believes very strongly that the family is the cradle of the nation and his aspiration is that the whole nation of Tanzania should live as one family. He bases his envisioned structure of the new Tanzanian nation on an extension of the model of the African traditional family setting, whose abiding principles were equality, freedom and unity. From the small family unit there emerges the village of "blood brothers"; and it is a combination of several villages that make up a nation-state.

Nyerere's hypothesis is that certain constant patterns of human behavior characterized the African traditional society, for example,

cooperation, unity, respect and so on. What he, therefore wants to do is to re-create these certain constant patterns of human behavior in present day Tanzania. But what makes cooperation, unity, justice etc. constant values? If a value such as cooperation was constant at one time, it need not necessarily be constant now. Nyerere's logic is far from convincing in his effort to re-employ behavior patterns of past African extended family (and tribes) untouched by Western influences to a modern nation-state. Traditional African life has been smashed by colonialism. This is a fact to which Nyerere does not seem to pay much attention.

One might argue that there was a lack of individualcompetitiveness in traditional Ujamaa because there was no unequal monetary reward or unequal ownership of means of production. Today, however, conditions have changed. Nyerere's Ujamaa has yet to succeed in meeting the challenge of modernization which despite Nyerere's protestations, is inherently non-egalitarian and, indeed, relies on competition for its success.

Another dimension of Ujamaa, subject to controversy, is the fact that in the traditional sense cooperation implied primarily mutual concern, not reproductive collaboration as it usually entails in the socialist tradition. The ordinary villagers in Tanzania, according to Michaela Von Freyhold, understand Ujamaa in terms of "some degree of care for each other. If a member was sick, others should come and visit him; if he needed treatment others should help him get well. If a family was hungry those who had a surplus should help".[79] Nyerere's efforts to extend this "mutual concern" to "mutual collaboration", as exemplified in the Ujamaa farm settlements, have

been unsuccessful.[80]

Through an uncritical appeal to the African traditional past, Nyerere believed that a classless society was a possibility in Tanzania. "I doubt", Nyerere declares, "if the equivalent for the word 'class' exists in any indigenous African language; for language describes the ideas of those who speak it, and the idea of 'class' or 'caste' was non-existent in African spciety".[81] Just as traditional African society was not divided into classes, Nyerere unrealistically believed that his socialist Tanzania could be modelled on the traditional concept of Ujamaa.

Against the opinion held by Nyerere, many African scholars have argued that it is misleading to assume that traditional African society was classless and casteless.[82] Professor Ali Mazrui, a prominent African Scholar, has been very quick to point out the fallacy in Nyerere's logic. The absence of any word for class, Ali Mazrui notes, does not necessarily imply the absence of the thing itself.[83] Joining in the debate, Ahmed Mohiddin postulates that:

> The hypothesis of wholly classless societies as anything like a general feature of African history would be very hard to substantiate. It is arguable that most African traditional societies were collectivists; but very few of them were egalitarian. Each society is the product of unique socio-economic and historical circumstances, and each has evolved its own social and economic patterns. Some have been egalitarians, but many have combined collectivist characteristics with strong elements of status and hierarchy.[84]

Also, the late president Kwame Nkrumah, who was by far the greatest champion of socialism in Africa, rejected the notion of a classless African traditional society. Such a conception of the traditional society, Nkrumah contended, is an emotional nostalgia

for an ideal that was never really achieved. "Today the phrase 'African Socialism'," Nkrumah remarks, "seems to espouse the view that the traditional African society was a classless society imbued with the spirit of humanism and to express a nostalgia for that spirit. Such a conception of socialism makes a fetish of the communal African society."[85] Nyerere can speak with sufficient authority about the absence of 'class' in his own Zanaki tribe. He lacks enough evidence to generalize or portray all traditional African societies as classless.

Perhaps one of the reasons Nyerere down-plays the role of class-conflict is to distinguish his kind of ideal society based on Ujamaa from the Marxist-Leninist type of society which is based on class-conflict. Issa G. Shivji in his book, Class Struggles in Tanzania,[86] has as his point of departure the Marxist-Leninist concept of class-conflict as a pre-requisite for the transition to a socialist state. But Nyerere's Ujamaa is neither scientific nor Marxist-Leninist. And Nyerere argues that conflict is not natural to man or society. He uses the traditional Ujamaa society, "where all the citizens are equal, no division into rulers and ruled, rich or poor, educated and illiterate, those in distress and those in idle comfort",[87] as proof of his contention. However, the point of the matter is that Nyerere's wish for a conflict free society is contrary to the interest-divided country that Tanzania actually is. Nyerere cannot, in fact, hope to support his philosophy by presenting it as formerly embodied in universal practice. This, however, merely reinforces the essential point, which is that his philosophy is idealist, not realist. How far this is a weakness or, alternatively, a strength, is a question to which we shall return.

NOTES

[1]J.K. Nyerere. "Responsible Self-Government Proposals". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., pp. 75-80.

[2]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 4.

[3]J.K. Nyerere. "Responsible Self-Government Proposals". Op. cit., p. 80.

[4]J.K. Nyerere. "Independence Message to TANU". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 139.

[5]J.K. Nyerere. "We Cannot Afford to Fail". African Special Report, Vol. IV, No. 12, 1959, p. 10.

[6]M. Cornforth. The Open Philosophy and the Open Society. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1966.

[7]Isaiah Berlin. "A Dangerous But Important Activity" in Modern Movements in Educational Philosophy. Edited by Van Cleve Moris. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1969, pp. 9-10.

[8]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 8.

[9]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa-Basis of African Socialism". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., pp. 162-171.

[10]In a provocative article entitled "Why I Founded the Spark", Kwame Nkrumah discusses the proliferation of various brands of socialism in Africa. See, The Spark. Accra: Spark Publishing Co., No. 100, November 13th, 1964, p. 1. Also see: Rejai Mostata. "African Socialism: An Appraisal" in International Philosophical Quarterly, No. 10, September 1970, pp. 458-467. Also, Peter Enahoro. "African Socialism: An Interview with Julius Nyerere", in Africa, 6, 1972, pp. 55-63.

[11]See Note No. 6, Chapter 1, Ibid.

[12]Carnford Pratt. The Critical Phase in Tanzania: 1945-1968. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 71.

[13]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". Op. cit, p. 164.

[14]Rene Dumont. "Julius Nyerere of Tanzania". Op. cit., p. 2.

[15]N.V.Zanolli. Education Toward Development in Tanzania. Switzerland: Pharos-Verlag Hansrudolf Schwabe AG Basel, 1971. Part III, pp. 224-239.

[16]J.K. Nyerere. "Socialism: An Attitude of Mind". In East African Journal, Vol. 4, No. 2, May 1967, pp. 24-30.

[17]See The Arusha Declaration. Op. cit.

[18]B.B. Bakula. Building Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1971.

[19]For an overview of the Ujamaa projects in Tanzania, see: Chapter V of this thesis.

[20]See, "Socialism: An Attitude of Mind". Op. cit.

[21]Ramon J. Rhine. "A Concept Formation Approach to Attitude Acquisition". In Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement. Edited by Martin Fishbien. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967, pp. 383 ff.

[22]Nicholas Rescher. Introduction to Value Theory. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969, p. 9.

[23]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". Op. cit.

[24]L.W. Pye. "Personal Identity and Political Ideology". Behavior Science, VI, July 1961. Also see: J.W. Tyler, "Education and National Identity" in Tradition and Transition in East Africa. Edited by P.H. Gulliver. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.

[25]Robert Lane. Political Ideology. New York: The Free Press, 1962, p. 381.

[26]Edward Shils. "The Intellectuals in the Political Development of the New States". World Politics, XIII, April 1960. Also see: David E. Apter. Some Conceptual Approaches to the Study of Modernization. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968. E.A. Brett. Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change. New York: Nok Publishers, 1973.

[27]See: Paulo Freire. "Cultural Action: A Dialectical Analysis". CIDOC Cuerdermo, No. 4, 1970, pp. 4-8.

[28]J.K. Nyerere. "One Party Government". Transition, 2, 1961, p. 11.

[29]Albert Memmi. The Colonized and the Colonizer. New York: Beacon Press, 1972, p. 120.

[30]J.K. Nyerere. "President's Inaugural Address". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 186.

[31]Paulo Freire. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Op. cit., p. 153.

[32]J.K. Nyerere. "The Second Scramble". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 207.

[33]Crane Brinton. The Anatomy of Revolution. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1959, p. 49.

[34]J.K. Nyerere. "Socialism is not Racialism". Op. cit., pp. 257 ff.

[35]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., Introduction, pp. 8-9.

[36]J.K. Nyerere. "Address to the Trade Unions". See, Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit., p. 312.

[37]Ahmed Sekou Toure. The Political Leader. Op. cit., p. 7.

[38]J.K. Nyerere. "The Purpose is Man". See, Freedom and Socialism. Op. cit.

[39]See, Ideology and Discontent. Edited by David E. Apter. New York: The Free Press, 1964, p. 44.

[40]John Mbiti. African Religions and Philosophy. Op. cit., p. 224.

[41]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 170.

[42]Among the African states adapting the Marxist type of socialism are: Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Ghana under late Kwame Nkrumah. See: Mostafa Rejai. "African Socialism: An Appraisal". International Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 3, 1970; Madan M. Sauldie. "Recent Trends in African Socialism". African Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 3, 1967.

[43]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". See, Op. cit., p. 166. Also see, P. Evans. "Tanzania: The Revolution as Reconstruction". Harvard Review, IV, Summer 1966.

[44]Igor Kopytoff. "Socialism and Traditional African Societies" in African Socialism. Edited by W.H. Fieldland and C. Rosberg. California: Stanford University Press, 1964.

[45]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". See, op. cit., p. 171.

[46]John Dewey. Reconstruction in Philosophy. Op. cit., p. 186.

[47]J.K. Nyerere. "The Purpose is Man". See, op. cit., p. 316.

[48]J.K. Nyerere. "The Second Scramble". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 207.

[49]Richard L. Means. The Ethical Imperative: Crisis in American Values. New York: Doubleday, 1969, p. 8.

[50]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. Cit., p. 169.

[51]Ibid, p. 162.

[52]Ibid, p. 164.

[53]Ibid, p. 163.

[54]J.K. Nyerere. "Importance of a National Ethic". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 174.

[55]J.K. Nyerere. "Guide to the One-Party State Commission". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., pp. 262 ff.

[56]See, John Hallowell. The Moral Foundation of Democracy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

[57]William E. Smith. See, New Yorker, October 16th, 1971, p. 64.

[58]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 11.

[59]See the story of the Fall of Adam and Eve. According to the Holy Bible, work was imposed on Adam as a curse. See Genesis Chapter 3.

[60]John Dewey. Democracy and Education. New York: Macmillan, 1961, pp. 255 ff.

[61]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 165.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid, p. 167.

[64]Ibid, p. 166.

[65]J.K. Nyerere. "Relations with Private Capital Investments". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 210.

[66]Nyerere was greatly inspired by his visit to China in February 1965. See, "State Visit to the People's Republic of China" in Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., pp. 323-325.

[67]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 168.

[68]Ibid, p. 164.

[69]Ibid, p. 171.

[70]William Sahakian expresses a point of view contrary to Nyerere's. See, Ethics: An Introduction to Theories and Problems. New York: Barnes and Nobles, 1974, p. 178.

[71]J.K. Nyerere. "Communitarian Socialism". Liberation, Vol. VIII, Summer 1962.

[72]Abraham Edel. Ethical Judgment: The Use of Science in Ethics. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955, p. 139.

[73]J.K. Nyerere. "Corruption as an Enemy of the People". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 82.

[74]Ibid, p. 83.

[75]Albert Meisten. East Africa: The Past in Chains The Future in Pawn. New York: Walker and Company, 1966, p. 136.

[76]J.K. Nyerere. "Pomposity". See, Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 226.

[77]Donald MacRae. "Nkrumahism: Past and Future of an Ideology". Government and Opposition, Vol. I, No. 4, December 1966, pp. 535-545.

[78]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". In Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 168.

[79]M. Von Freyhold. Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania: Analysis of a Social Experiment. Op. cit., p. 81.

[80]For some reasons for the failure of Ujamaa farm project, see: Chapter five of this thesis.

[81]J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". In Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 170.

[82]S. Amin. The Class Struggle in Africa. Report No. 2 African Research Group: New York, 1969. Also see: Social Stratification in Africa. Edited by Arthur Tuden and Leonard Plotnicov. New York: The Free Press, 1970.

[83]Ali Mazrui. Towards a Pax Africana. London: Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 101-102.

[84]Ahmed Mohiddin. "Ujamaa: A Commentary on President Nyerere's Vision on Tanzanian Society". African Affairs, Vol. 67, April 1968, p. 136.

[85]Kwame Nkrumah. "African Socialism Revisited". African Forum, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1966, p. 4.

[86]Issa G. Shivji. Class Struggles in Tanzania. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976. Also see, Shiuji. "Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle" and L. Cliffe. "The Policy of Ujamaa Vijinini and the Class Struggle in Tanzania". In Socialism in Tanzania, Vol. 2. Op. cit.

[87]J.K. Nyerere. "President's Inaugural Address". See Freedom and Unity. Op. cit., p. 178.

CHAPTER IV

OBJECTIVES AND PERSPECTIVES IN TANZANIAN EDUCATION (1961 - 1966)

Perspective On Traditional Education

Before an attempt is made to assess the impact of the colonial system of education which was introduced into Tanganyika in 1876,[1] some attention must be given to education in the earlier history of Tanganyika. It is very erroneous to assume that there was no system of education in Tanganyika before the coming of the European colonizers.[2] In traditional Tanganyika, education transmitted wisdom and knowledge from one generation to the next. It initiated the young into tribal values and into the thought, habits and practices of the tribal community.[3]

There were two closely knit systems of traditional education. The non-formal education was any organized activity which was intended to provide the tribal boys and girls with specific learning objectives. This type of non-formal education was usually related to community consciousness and common values. The training in community consciousness consisted of traditional history and literature (folk-lore), while that in common values inculcated codes of behaviour. The informal or relatively unorganized system of education imparted general skills needed for community survival and individual livelihood. It imparted occupational improvement needs such as farming, fishing and hunting, while helping to integrate the young into the tribal fold. No special institutions were set aside for the purpose of teaching. As the child grew up he learned from his family, his peers, the elders

and the tribal community. However, in Tanganyika, as was true of many other African tribal communities, there was the progressive age-grade system which imparted specific leadership training; some special cults or "secret organizations" transmitted some treasured lore and religious code of conduct; and there were some guilds, through which the master-craftsman undertook to impart his special skills to promising young apprentices.[4] For the most part, traditional education consisted in learning by listening, by watching and by imitation. It was what Nyerere has described as education by "living and doing".[5] Perhaps, the early life of Nyerere himself best illustrates the traditional education. Before Nyerere left for the colonial school at the age of 12, he had acquired almost all the knowledge and skills of his tribal community. He had learned to farm, to fish and to hunt; and he knew how to pasture cattle, goats and sheep.[6]

Of particular significance in the traditional system of education was the custom of passing adolescent boys and girls through the process of initiation.[7] Above all else, these initiation ceremonies inculcate the virtue of cooperation. As the Swahili proverb says: "Umoja ni Nguvu" (Unity is strength). The attitude of cooperation fostered unity and a feeling of mutual belongingness. Although he was not yet initiated into adulthood before he left home for school, Nyerere at 12 was already well grounded in the societal values of cooperation, mutual respect, service and loyalty to the tribal community.[8] If there was, however, one fact that illumined the whole concept of education in Tanganyika's past, it was the fact that traditional education was in all respects relevant to the life of the individual tribesman and the tribal community. It was social in nature and community oriented.

Traditional tribal education could be fittingly characterized as a life-long and a life-centred socio-cultural process which was concerned with problem-solving to meet the demands of individual growth and the needs of the community.[9] A.B. Fafunwa captures the essence of traditional African education when he states that the objective was to produce an individual who is honest, respectable, skilled and cooperative. Fafunwa has enumerated the following seven basic aims of traditional education in Africa:

1. To develop the child's latent physical skills
2. To develop character
3. To inculcate respect for elders and those in position of authority
4. To develop intellectual skills
5. To acquire specific vocational training and develop a healthy attitude towards honest labour
6. To develop a sense of belonging and to participate actively in family and community affairs
7. To understand, appreciate and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large.[10]

It is against the foregoing legacy of traditional education that we shall now proceed to consider the introduction of an entirely alien system of education.

Impact of Colonial Education

Schooling, as we know it today in Tanzania, was spread by the Europeans in the early nineteenth century. In Europe, the function of the school vis-a-vis the society and its members was primarily the

transmission of culture, the exploration of new knowledge and implementation of change, and the allocating of individuals to positions in society.[11] Within this setting, schooling was an educational system rooted in the culture and traditions of the Europeans with regard to its aim, content and method. Unfortunately, a system which suited Europe very well was catapulted to colonized Africa without regard to the tradition and cultural heritage of the Africans, and without regard for the conditions and needs of the colonized.

It is not surprising that since the turn of this century, Black liberation writers have come to see the role of schooling, as it was introduced by the Europeans into their colonies, as a means of bringing the colonized into the capitalist social and economic structure in which the colonized are more effectively exploited and dehumanized by their colonial masters.[12] Instead of transmitting culture the colonial school system was calculated to wean the African school child from his own customs, his culture and tradition.[13] Instead of preparing the young for life in their rural community, the colonial school was preoccupied with the exploration of new knowledge and the imparting of skills which had no relevance in the local communitites.[14] Such skills, of course, benefitted the colonizers; it did not matter to them that such skills often dissociated the African from his origins by apparently lifting him into a different and elitist category. Nyerere has himself pointed out the major short-comings of the colonial system of schooling in Tanzania; under three headings. Firstly, it alienated the youth from his cultural roots; secondly, it was elitist and lastly, it encouraged an aversion to vocational and technical work.[15]

Whereas traditional African education was embedded in the culture

of each tribe and was a powerful instrument of culture maintenance and improvement, the colonial school had no roots in the African society.[16] It was a school system in which foreign cultural and nationalistic patterns were imposed on the colonized. In those days, as Nyerere explains, any Tanganyikan who wanted to have an education in the colonial school had to choose between accepting the Western philosophy of life, part of which was conversion to christianity, or remaining uneducated.[17] The underlying purpose of the colonial school was to turn the African into Black Europeans. Even today, in many independent African nations, educational policies make it quite clear that they are really expecting education in Africa to enable them to emulate the material achievements of Europe and North America.[18]

The most nefarious effect of the colonial school system was the change in attitudes it created in the Africans. Through a meticulously planned and executed philosophy of education, the African school child was conditioned to undergo a gradual process of deculturation; a process whereby the child was gradually cut off from his own history, his own value system and his own cultural origins. From the lessons the African child everyday receives at school, Robert July comments, "he unconsciously imbibes the conviction that to be a great man, he must be like the whiteman. He is not brought up to be a companion, the equal, the comrade of the whiteman, but his imitator, his ape, his parasite. To be himself is to be nothing".[19] Many African children who grew up to be so-called intellectuals underwent a deep process of depersonalization. Sekou Touré gives voice to this feeling of depersonalization when he writes:

There is no indictment to be drawn up against

> intellectualism, but it is important to demonstrate the depersonalization of the African intellectual, a depersonalization for which nobody can hold him responsible, because it is the price which the colonial system demands for teaching him the universal knowledge which enables him to be an engineer, a doctor, an architect or an accountant.[20]

Many academic youth in Tanzania who ingested the Western ideas and way of life, hook, line and sinker, became cultural freaks. Instead of liberating their minds, the type of education they acquired grafted them onto an unnatural foreign way of life.

In order for the mis-educated African intellectual to find his real self and regain his "critical consciousness"[21], he must learn to see intrinsic merit in his native value systems. Any African intellectual who continues to judge and make his decisions according to the standards of Western culture, no matter what his paper qualifications are and the number of his certificates, has yet to attain intellectual liberation. The more the African realises the need to free himself from the "colonial mentality"[22], the better will he succeed in giving his thoughts and actions authentic African content, and only then can he discover the essence of the "African personality".[23]

The language of instruction at all school levels, which is English, is a vehicle for foreign ideas and cultural colonialism. According to Dennis Lawton:

> Language is not simply one aspect of mental growth but the key to all the others. The role of language in social and intellectual development is so very high because it is essentially language which distinguishes man from animals, so that an individual is able to acquire the accumulated experience of previous generations.[24]

Subjection to the English language in the schools effectively estranges

the African child from acquiring the accumulated cultural experiences in his mother tongue. There is no doubt how very essential it is to let every child begin his formal education in his mother tongue. This is all the more important because "human existence is welded to language".[25] A child develops intellectually, not simply by a process of maturation but by reacting to problems presented by the cultural environment and thus developing more and more complex forms of behaviour. And language plays a major role in this process.[26] Unfortunately, the English language which is introduced to most children as early as age four or five, is strictly confined to the school environment. Neither the parents nor the close relations of most children can speak the English language; and in their eagerness to be like the whiteman, most school children often completly neglected their respective mother tongues. The African child's restricted knowledge of the English language often limits his intellectual potential and it necessarily involved a restricted mode of thinking and a restricted view of the world.

However, because the use of the English language sustained the colonial administrative machine and capitalist economy, no thought was ever given to instruction in the mother tongue. From the minutes of the Colonial Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa we read:

> The British trader ... seems from the first start to have insisted on the native learning English to enable business to be carried out in that language.[27]

No one was more aware than Nyerere of the cultural colonialism imposed by the use of English, especially at the primary school level. Hence soon after Independence, he set in motion a chain of curriculum changes which in two short years made Swahili, which is spoken by many tribes

in East Africa, the language of instruction at the primary school level.

Elitism was one of the results of a school system which allowed a foreign language and values to dominate the expressions of its people. Competence in English became the defining characteristic of the elitist group. The colonial school perpetuated the myths and ideologies of class distinction by using competence in English language as a tool of stratifying a previously classless society. Those who could speak English and had cultivated certain alien values that go with it, belonged to the elitist class, while the masses of the people belonged to the common elements. The observation Baldev Raj Nayar made, concerning the situation in East India, is very applicable to Tanzania. "The foreign language created two nations - a microscopic minority educated in a foreign tongue ... and the illiterate masses, segregated and isolated from each other".[28]

In general, the elitist class comprised the educated professionals and government senior administrative officers. Many of them had received the best in British or North American education, either at home or abroad. The elitist class came to think of their education as having taken them out of the society, apart from the illiterate masses, as having put them on a pedestal. Overtly "Black Europeans", the elitist class was estranged from the masses of the people and often resided in the urban centres where it was supported through the expropriation of the so-called economic surplus from the impoverished rural farmers.

> The rural area remain depleted and impoverished, vis-a-vis the towns where the educated elites live, just as do the poor countries as a whole vis-a-vis the rich countries - and for the same reason: the exploitation of those who have not by those who have.[29]

The colonial school system was a powerful reinforcer of the status quo. It fostered the attitude which taught an individual to regard himself as a commodity, whose value was determined by certificates, degrees, or other professional qualifications.

> It instilled into young boys and girls the idea that their education confers a price tag on them, so they concentrate on this price tag.[30]

This type of education made the educated elite unfree because it ignored the infinite and priceless value of a liberated human being, who is cooperating with others in building a civilization worthy of the creatures made in the image of God.[31]

The colonial school system gave rise to the now well established association between physical labour and low social status, especially in the newly emergent African nations. The critic in Kasum Nair's Blossoms In The Dust, expresses the attitude to work by the people of most developing nations, when he says:

> Only education makes men of us. But education and cultivation of the soil cannot be combined. The two must be kept separate. How can a boy who has been to school do the hard labour which cultivation requires.[32]

There was an undue emphasis on academic studies, as the pupils were given to understand that the end-product of education is the possession of a certificate or a degree. Although the Provisional Syllabus of 1952[33] tried to impose on the Tanganyikan Middle schools a syllabus with a vocational bias, the programme failed because neither the whites nor the Asians participated in it.[34] This, of course, reinforced the prevailing attitude among the Africans that vocational education was invented by the colonial rulers to perpetuate poverty and keep the Africans forever in the lower social class.[35]

One would have thought that because the vast majority of the population of Tanzania lived in the rural areas, the colonial educational policy makers would have aimed at an agricultural education that would keep the young in their rural communities, while raising the standard of living of the villagers. What actually happened, however, was that the schools were created primarily to produce skilled labour for foreign owned or dominated industries and for the colonial civil service.

Integrated Educational System (1961 - 1963)

The problems Nyerere inherited at Independence were many but perhaps at the heart of most of those problems was a legacy of seventy-six years of colonial "mis-education" of the Tanganyikan people. The colonial school policy bruised the indigenous system of education, and it destroyed the African's pride in himself and in his everyday indigenous activities (farming, hunting, fishing, etc.). The school substituted for traditional African societal consciousness and societal values, the idea that the only way to success was through the acquisition of academic certificates. Instead of becoming an equalizer of opportunity, the colonial school created conditions which made it extremely difficult to democratize education in Tanzania.[36] There was a circular causation at work between socio-economic inequality, on the one hand and inequality in educational opportunity on the other. The Europeans, the Asians and a handful of wealthy Africans were very articulate in preserving their positions through unequal educational opportunities.

At Independence (December 1961), more than half of Tanganyika's African population - about four and a half million - were children

under fifteen years of age; of this total, only 435,721 or about one out of every ten were in school in 1961. Among the African population, hardly one percent of those who received primary schooling gained admission into secondary or vocational schools. By contrast, all Europeans and Asian children in Tanganyika had primary education and nearly fifty percent of these went on to the secondary school. In the year prior to Independence, it is estimated that whereas an average of $30.00 a year was spent for each African school child, $450.00 was spent for each European or Asian in school.[37] Without doubt, the social stratification in Tanganyika attested to Myrdal's suggestion that "control of education is probably the most fundamental monopoly element in an inequalitarian social and economic stratification".[38] Nyerere set for himself the task of providing equality of access to education by removing the differentials created by socio-economic levels vis-a-vis educational opportunities. These differentials had come to be taken for granted as correct and thus led to attitudes supporting inequality.[39]

In 1962, Nyerere inaugurated the national integrated educational project. This meant, in the first place, the establishment of an integrated school policy, curriculum and programme for all Tanganyikans of all races; this put an end to separate schools for Europeans, Asians and Africans. The integrated school system abolished the practice of having private schools for the rich; from now on all the citizens of Tanganyika had equal access to all the state owned schools, as all the schools were now taken over by the state. Secondly, there was to be an end to the rigid religious denominational scramble for converts through the establishment of missionary schools. This meant that from

now on, all citizens of Tanganyika, be they muslims, pagans, hindus, protestants or catholics, had equal opportunities to attend any school of their choice.

Between 1962 and 1964, there was a rapid increase in primary and secondary school enrollments in Tanzania. During this time, Nyerere proposed formal guidelines for coordinating the expanded secondary school enrollments with the projected middle and high level manpower needs of a socialist Tanzania. However, by and large, at this stage the secondary school syllabus remained that inherited from the colonial system, which did not bother about imparting technical and other practical knowhow. In the first three years after Independence, the expanded secondary schools continued to deliver the colonial academic type education and "ignored the country's need for people with a practical orientation towards agriculture, commerce, business, crafts, industry and other practical subjects".[40]

It was not until 1964, when the Tanzanian First Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development[41] was promulgated that we begin to notice a significant change in educational thought and practice in Tanzania.

Revival of Agricultural Education (1964 - 1966)

Although it was not until after Education for Self-Reliance[42], that agricultural education became a very important element of the national system of education at all school levels in Tanzania, yet at this stage Nyerere had already begun to define the meaning, objectives and role of agricultural education within the perspective of Ujamaa. In the Tanzanian First Five Year Development Plan, already referred to,

Nyerere for the first time since Independence called on the schools to play a special role in the development of the nation. Nyerere's objective was to "vocationalize" education in Tanzania, so that pupils even at the primary school level would have some vocational training especially in agriculture.

Nyerere's emerging philosophy of agricultural education focused on the need for new methods of solving the immediate problem of rural underdevelopment. There was no doubt whatsoever in Nyerere's mind that the answer to rural underdevelopment was training in agriculture. And it was especially in the primary school that the positive attitude towards agriculture must begin. An essential aspect of any education, it could be argued, is the reconstruction of events and experiences that compose the lives of individuals.[43] In the Tanzanian case, if there are any experiences and events of which the rural youths of this country are very rich, these comprise their knowledge of crops, farm animals, soils, herbs, insects and so on. Nyerere believed that improvement in agriculture would bring about an emergence of the "good life" in rural Tanzania. Without the improvement in the standard of living in rural society, there was the danger that Nyerere's socialist vision would become a mockery.

The strengthening of the place of agriculture in the revised primary school syllabuses (1964 - 1966), underscores Nyerere's determination to make the schools engage in activities which pay more than a form of lip-service to Ujamaa. The school farm, which was the practical demonstration of the emphasis on agriculture was to provide for the pupils a realistic and practical experience in agriculture as part of a balanced programme of education.

Toward a Radically Different Philosophy of Education:

In July of 1964, when he launched the First Tanzania Five Year Development Plan, Nyerere began to think of a philosophy of education for Tanzania which would be filled with new experiences, new procedures of teaching and learning. His idea was to have a philosophy of education which would create new approaches and solutions to problems which were unique to Tanzania's socio-historical circumstances. Nyerere's mind was set on an educational theory and practice which would radically transform the existing neo-colonial school programmes and practices and bring them into line with the new national goals.

First, Nyerere had to make clear in his mind the role education must play in building a new Tanzania. Better to appreciate Nyerere's point of view about what role the school should play in relation to social change, it becomes necessary briefly to review the major trends in the on-going controversy of the role of the school (formal education) in social change.[44] From the massive literature on this controversy four clear-cut positions emerge. The Essentialists argue that the school should play a conservative role in society by fostering and transmitting the cherished ideals and traditions of the society.[45] The Pragmatists see the school's role as that of a critic; the school should fulfill the function of criticizing and questioning the current trends in the society, raising national awareness to social issues but refraining from embarking on any programme of social reconstruction on its own.[46] In opposition to the last view, the Progressives demand for

the school a creative role, not simply that of an arm-chair critic. According to the progressives, the school ought to produce dynamic creative forces in the society with concrete plans of its own for social reconstruction.[47] Finally the Leninist-Marxist point of view sees the school as playing a positive revolutionary role in the destruction of the old order and the inauguration of a new socialist and egalitarian society.[48] To which group of thought does Nyerere belong? He is hard to place.

Nyerere believed that formal education has different tasks in different societies in terms of the kind of man a particular society wants to produce. He perceived a working definition of education in terms of a determinant of goals as they are conceived within or adopted from the foundation of the Tanzanian value system. Ujamaa embodied the value system which helped Nyerere clarify his educational goals and define them. Thus the philosophy of Ujamaa provided Nyerere with a working definition of education based on the needs of Tanzania, on the interests of Tanzania, and on the means necessary to achieve the goals of Ujamaa. From this perspective, the role of education in Tanzania could be summarized as follows: to preserve and foster the Tanzanian culture and traditions; to develop the Ujamaa "attitude of mind", to instill in the young the principle of human equality and prepare them for the roles they are to play in a democratic classless society founded on the basis of mutual cooperation, equality and self-reliance.

Nyerere was convinced that education was the single most important means of changing the colonial capitalist tendencies, and of changing the syndrome of "superstitious beliefs and irrational outlook, lack of adaptability, contempt for manual work, low aptitude for cooperation

and submissiveness to authority and exploitation".[49] Nyerere saw education as playing a leading role in political, ideological and revolutionary activities in the new nation of Tanzania. What preoccupied his mind was how effectively to induce and channel consciously educational priorities towards the goals of Ujamaa. He needed a model for change which would be neither a mirror-like imitation of any foreign models nor a nativistic return to the past. Providing the strongest of cautions, Frantz Fanon noted:

> It is true we need a model, and that we want blueprints and examples. For many among us the European model is the most inspiring. We have seen what mortifying setbacks such an imitation has led us. European achievements, European techniques and style ought no longer to tempt us and throw us off our balance. Let us decide not to imitate Europe, let us try to create the whole man.[50]

As a nation changes, socially and economically, so education must change and align itself with the aspirations of the nation. A country's philosophy of education must not only be dynamic, it must also be progressive. As John Hanson aptly points out, "the trail of human history is marked by the wreckage of those nations which have used their education merely to perpetuate what existed, those nations which have failed to recognize that the forces of time are hardest upon those that fail to move them".[51] In proposing a society-centred education, Nyerere's aim was to move with the times. A society-centred education would produce a Tanzanian man who was both literate and productive, one who was imbued with and motivated by civic conscience, one who was willing and ready to participate actively in the revolutionary social responsibilities of nation building. Nyerere's society-centred education

had a twofold purpose. First, to stabilize or to perpetuate the society. Second, to serve as an agent for change.

> As a stabilizer, it looks into what already exists in the society to reflect the same into the lives of the next generation. As an agent of change, it functions through technical and ideological tools, to make each generation different from its parent. All the time the child is urged to see himself as a part and parcel of the society and that he is being prepared for service to that society ... hence the need for a curriculum which is relevant to the society ... All together the school and the community look for practical ways of solving the problems of the society.[52]

Nyerere's philosophy of education pointed the way to theoretical and practical means of bringing Tanzanian youth close to a better understanding of the true meaning of Ujamaa. At the heart of the new policy was education for life in the villages and rural communities. By inaugurating a society-centred education Nyerere made it easier for educational strategists in Tanzania to formulate worthwhile operational goals, so that teachers were clearer about what types of conduct and attitude they needed to bring about goal fulfillment.

Theory and Realities

Throughout his works, Nyerere maintained that Tanzania must have educational institutions which were in consonance with her Ujamaa philosophy. If this was to happen, he argued, it was necessary that educational theory and practice found their roots in the African traditional past. Nyerere's objective was to use the traditional treasure of cultural values to operate effectively the educational institutions of today. He suggested that formal education

must be seen as a necessary contribution to the enrichment of African traditional education, not as a substitute. Nyerere, therefore, attempted to establish particular educational values by appeals to the African traditional past. His policy called for a reconstruction and up-dating of whatever was noble and valuable in African traditional education.

In suggesting a cautious return to the past, Nyerere raised some questions to which he did not provide adequate answers. For example, there are the issues of the definition of the concept of "African traditional value"; a clarification of the connection between "tradition" and "value"; and also the question of establishing the criteria for distinguishing what aspects of traditional values are appropriate or inappropriate for re-deployment today.

Nyerere appeals, all the time, to African traditional values for the validation of certain practices and values he wishes to re-employ in pursuit of his socialist goals. It is disappointing to observe that inspite of Nyerere's obsession with African traditional values he does not deal explicitly with the concept explication of what "African traditional value" itself represents. It can only be conjectured from a study of Nyerere's writings that his argument for the existence of African traditional values is not based on a question of "uniqueness". In other words, there is no reason why, in order that there should be African traditional values, these values have to be different from any other non-African values. What makes these values African is that their evolution take place within the traditional African socio-historical context. To call such values "African" would be a way of specifying that they were not derived from outside sources. Nyerere

is not defending a unique African theory of value which is in no way related to non-African theories of value. What he wishes to emphasise is that on account of differences in cultural and socio-historical realities, non-African models of value education are by themselves inadequate and do not exactly fit the educational aspirations of Tanzania.

Nyerere does not explicitly clarify the connection between tradition and value. Is the fact that some practice is rooted in African traditional past sufficient ground for endowing it with value? Or is a traditional practice valuable precisely because it is a traditional practice? A study of Nyerere's educational statements reveals that he is not arguing for a return to tradition for the sake of tradition. The reason for this conclusion is that whenever Nyerere appeals to African tradition, he focuses on some specific "traditions", e.g. equality, unity, brotherhood, cooperation, etc., which are embedded within the African traditional past. To argue for such specific "traditions" is not to argue for African tradition per se. Nyerere is not willing to endow every practice which is traditional with value. The point of his argument is that there are certain practices embedded within African tradition which have in the past been valuable, and which, given certain circumstances, may be valuable at the present time. Nyerere however fails to defend these values on moral grounds. Instead he anchors his defense on appeals to the sanctions of tradition.

The major objection to Nyerere's excessive appeals to the sanctions of tradition lies in the fact that contemporary Tanzania has witnessed, and continues to witness, a disintegration of the structures of the traditional society. As Nyerere persists in tracing how particular

practices and values have sprung out of African traditional past, the traditional way of life has almost completely disappeared in Tanzania and other parts of Africa. Most of the "traditions" that Nyerere's educational theory calls for are all value assertions which can be justified simply on moral grounds. Values are not so much tied to tradition as they are the product of an ongoing social living and social testing. A value, in effect, is whatever contributes to the material and spiritual growth in the ongoing lives of men. Values ought to reflect the stage reached in the social evolution of any society. A society needs to revise its ideas when its conditions undergo distinctive changes, when its people no more feel or act in the traditional way. Without any fear of contradiction, it can be said that the people of Tanzania do not feel or act in the traditional way. Nyerere's attempt to establish particular values and practices by appeals to the traditional way of life is somehow anachronistic.

The final question Nyerere fails to answer adequately has to do with the criteria for distinguishing between those aspects of traditional values which are to be perpetuated or repudiated. Nyerere does not establish any defensible principles for making such a judgment. He does, however, provide an outline of what he considers to be the governing values of Tanzanian culture. His assumption is that whatever it is that promotes the intrinsic merit of Tanzanian culture ought to be perpetuated.

To summarize, the dominant features of educational theory and practice from 1961 to 1966 were Nyerere's integrated schools system and his effort to reintroduce certain values embedded in Tanzanian traditional education. As far as the integration of schools was

concerned, it was a success. It was the first step in providing equal access to all available educational institutions, to all Tanzanians irrespective of racial origins and economic background. However Nyerere has not succeeded so well in his attempt to justify the educational values he wished to reintroduce for present use, by reference to the past treasures of African traditional values. Nyerere seem to lose sight of the fact that what is valuable for the Tanzanian society of today is a function of the human condition which the contemporary citizens of that country apprehend in their existential situation.

NOTES

[1]John Cameron. The Development of Education in East Africa. (New York: Teacher's College Press, 1970).

[2]J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Self-Reliance". See, Ujamaa - Essays On Socialism. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 45.

[3]Ibid.

[4]See, Christian Action in Africa: Report of the Church Conference on African Affairs. (New York: African Committee, 1942), p. 37.

[5]J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Self-Reliance". See, op cit., p. 45.

[6]Judith Listowel. The Making of Tanganyika. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1965), p. 174.

[7]For further information on Initiation Ceremonies in Tanzania, see: J.A.R. Wembah-Rashid. The Ethno-History of the Matrilineal Peoples of Southern Tanzania. (Wien-Austria, 1975), pp. 87-101.

[8]John Hatch. Two African Statesman ... op. cit., p. 7.

[9]Nyerere's community school has many points in common with the Western styled community school. See, Edward G. Olsen. School and Community. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1954).

[10]See, David Scanlon. Traditions of African Education. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964). Also A.B. Fafunwa. History of Education in Nigeria. (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 20-21.

[11]David A. Goslin. The School in Contemporary Society. (Glencoe: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1965), pp. 1-18.

[12]Walter Rodney. How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972), pp. 23-43. Also see: Martin Carnoy. Education As Cultural Imperialism. Op. cit., p. 17.

[13]K. Busia. Purposeful Education for Africa. (The Hague: Monton and Company, 1964), p. 19. Also see: Walter Rodney. "Education in Africa and Contemporary Tanzania" in Education and Black Struggle. (Boston: Harvard Educational Review, 1974), No. 2, pp. 82-99.

[14]A.R. Thompson. "Ideas Underlying British Colonial Education Policy in Tanganyika" in Tanzania: Revolution by Education. op. cit.

[15]J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Self-Reliance". See, Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism. op. cit., p. 46.

[16]Ibid., p. 47.

[17]J.K. Nyerere. "The Power of Teachers". See, Freedom and Socialism. op. cit., p. 224.

[18]J.K. Nyerere. "Our Education Must be for Liberation". op. cit., p. 3.

[19]Robert July. The Origins of African Thought. (New York: Praeger, 1967), p. 31.

[20]Ahmed Sekou Toure. Political Leader ... op. cit., p. 6.

[21]Among those who have done quite a lot to arouse the critical consciousness of the masses of the people in the developing nations is Paulo Freire. See his Education and Critical Consciousness. (New York: Continuum Seabury Press, 1973).

[22]See, The Educated African. Edited by Helen Kitchen. (New York: Praeger, 1962).

[23]S.A.M. Abdoun. "The African Personality". African Quarterly. Vol. III, No. 2 (July/Sept., 1968).

[24]Dennis Lawson. Social Class, Language and Education. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 43 f.

[25]Sol Saporta. Psycholinguistics: A Book of Readings. (London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), p. 1.

[26]T. MacNamara. "The Effects of Instruction in a Weaker Language". Journal of Social Issues. Vol. 23 (April, 1967).

[27]Report of Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. (London: Colonial Office, Memorandum No. 3, 1952).

[28]Baldev Raj Nayar. National Communication and Language Policy in India. (New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 13.

[29]Adam Curle. Education for Liberation. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), p. 25.

[30]J.K. Nyerere. "Our Education Must be for Liberation". op. cit., p. 6.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Philip Coombs. The World Education Crisis: A Systems Analysis. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 94.

[33]Tanganyika Department of Education: Provisional Syllabus of Instruction for Middle Schools. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1959).

[34]William A. Dodd. "Education for Self-Reliance" in Tanzania: A Study of its Vocational Aspects. (New York: Teacher's College Press, 1969).

[35]Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office, African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice of British Tropical Africa. (London: Oxford University Press, 1953).

[36]John Cameron & W.A. Dodd. Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970).

[37]Alexander MacDonald. Tanzania: Young Nation in a Hurry. (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1966), p. 64.

[38]Gunnar Myrdal. Asian Drama. 3 Vols. (New York: Pantheon Press, 1968), p. 1805.

[39]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. op. cit., Introduction, p. 17.

[40]See, "Diversification of Secondary Education" in Tanzania Educational Journal. Vol. 3, No. 5 (1973), p. 11.

[41]Tanzania First Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964).

[42]See, Education for Self-Reliance. op. cit.

[43]See, John Dewey. Experience and Education. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938).

[44] R.M. Hutchins. The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society. (New York: Harper, 1953). Sidney Hook. Education for Modern Man: A New Perspective. (New York: Knopf, 1963). Theodore Bramald. Towards A Reconstructed Philosophy of Education. (New York: Dryden, 1956).

[45] John Paul Strain. Modern Philosophies of Education. (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 13-14. Also see, James D. Koerner. The Case for Basic Education: A Program of Aims for Public Schools. (Boston: Little Brown, 1959).

[46] R.R. Rusk. The Doctrines of Great Educators. (New York: Macmillan, 1941). Bertrand Russell. Education and Social Order. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1933) and also see, George S. Counts. Dare the School Build a New Social Order? (New York: John Day Company, 1932).

[47] L.B. Perkins. Progressive Schools. (London: Hogarth Press, 1934). Also see, John Dewey. "Can Education Share in Social Reconstruction?". Social Frontier. I. (Oct., 1934).

[48] Paul Nyberg. "The Communal Man: Marx" in The Educated Man. op. cit., pp. 227-303. Also see, Paulo Freire. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. op. cit.

[49] Gunnar Myrdal. Asian Drama. 3 Vols. op. cit., pp. 1843-1940.

[50] Frantz Fanon. The Wretched of the Earth. (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 253.

[51] J.W. Hansen. "The Nation's Educational Purpose" in Nigerian Education. Edited by O. Ikejiani. (Lagos: Longmans Nigeria Ltd., 1964), p. 20.

[52] Victor M. Mlekwa. "View Point". The Tanzania Educational Journal. Vol. 2, No. 3 (January, 1973), p. 18.

CHAPTER V

NYERERE'S SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT 1962 TO 1979

Nyerere's Experience in Office

In 1962, Nyerere proposed Ujamaa as the philosophical basis of African socialism in Tanzania, the aims and principles of which were to promote the equality and freedom of all the citizens of Tanzania, to restore the lost African self-esteem and to effect socio-economic justice within the framework of an equalitarian society.[1] The vision of the Tanzanian society Ujamaa was supposed to usher in was, in Nyerere's words:

> A country in which all her citizens are equal; where there is no division into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, those in distress and those in idle comfort ... In this country all would be equal in dignity, all would have an equal right to respect, to the opportunity of acquiring a good education and the necessities of life; and all her citizens should have an equal opportunity of serving their country to the limit of their ability.[2]

Although Nyerere did make some progress at the philosophical level by inspiring the dissociative "attitude of mind",[3] it took him up to five years to translate the philosophy of Ujamaa into a coherent ideology upon which to base a socio-economic development strategy. This came in 1967 in the historic Arusha Declaration,[4] and subsequent policy documents.[5] On February 6th, 1967, before the assembled members of the TANU National Executive in the town of Arusha, Nyerere spoke for two and one half hours, presenting a comprehensive lecture survey of objectives, requirements and policies which comprised the Arusha Declaration: TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance.[6]

The mainland Tanzania over which Nyerere became Prime Minister in December 1961 had as its model the British System of Parliamentary democracy. Among other things, she adopted the Westminster multi-party political system. Tanzania also inherited the British tradition that the civil service, police and armed forces must be separated from political influence. In 1962, after declaring his country a Republic, Nyerere began to seriously question the validity of the British model of democracy for mainland Tanzania.

One of the very important tasks Nyerere had to face was how to win over a civil service which had been divorced from politics to serve the interests of the new Republic. John Hatch aptly articulates Nyerere's worry in the following passage:

> Could such civil servants, police and armed forces now be expected so to change their whole ethos as to enter fully into the tasks of Nation-building? Could their expertise be harnessed to the totally new challenges and suppositions essential to the creation of a new society, in many ways wholly contrary to the ethics of a colonial regime?[7]

In order to harness their expertise Nyerere abolished the law preventing civil servants from being fully immersed in party politics. However it was very difficult to gain the full confidence of the civil servants. Although they did not contradict Nyerere openly, they regarded his philosophy of Ujamaa to be something like an aberration. Consequently, between 1962 and 1966 many civil servants did manage to turn the slogan of Ujamaa into a tool which could be used for their own purposes.[8]

Nyerere disfavoured the British multi-party system and advocated instead a one-party state.[9] His argument was that a one-party system would better facilitate the objectives of Ujamaa.[10] Since independence,

mainland Tanzania had had only one de facto political party. No other organization had been able to challenge TANU seriously since elections were first introduced. In 1963, Nyerere proposed to the TANU Conference that Tanzania should become a de jure single-party state. Nyerere's political organization took 18 months to mould public opinion and to draft the new single-party constitution.[11]

The Independence secured from Britain in December 1961 was, in essence, political independence only, as important decisions affecting the socio-economic life of Tanzania were still, by and large, determined outside Tanzania. Nyerere inherited a Three-year Development Plan from the outgoing colonial regime covering the period 1961 - 1964. The Development Plan, which was, in Nyerere's words 'little more than a series of public expenditure projects'[12] was based on the premise that, although industrialisation was desirable, it could not take place until agricultural expansion had created a sufficiently sophisticated domestic market. It was, in other words, an extension of the British colonial policy of gradual development through the implementation of certain infrastructural investments: in roads, schools, railways, irrigation and so on. The Three Year Development Plan did not contemplate the re-ordering or redirection of the structure, organisation, or objectives of the socio-economic life. Hence the economic policies which the government pursued at this point in time could not be described as socialist policies. The strategy which was followed was one of a tempered capitalism overseen by a socially responsible government.[13]

From 1961 to 1963, Nyerere's foreign policy was undeniably oriented towards the West.[14] But beginning in 1964 with the international intervention in the revolution in Zanzibar and in the aftermath of Ian

Smith's unilateral declaration of Independence over Rhodesia, there was a shift in Nyerere's foreign policy. Nyerere moved from his pro-West posture of 1961 - 1963 to a non-aligned position.[15] When the Arusha Declaration was issued in 1967 Nyerere's Tanzania was not fully incorporated within either of the two international socialist blocks.[16] With the Tanzanian foreign policy crisis there arose an increasing number of academics at the University of Dar es Salaam, who provided a Marxian analysis of Tanzanian foreign relations. Nyerere did not support any of "the four Marxian interpretations"[17] of the crisis in foreign relations that had at this time become readily available in Tanzania. However, such interpretations often provided the rhetoric for propagating the ideology of Ujamaa, for a few of Nyerere's senior Ministers.[18]

As has been noted already, Nyerere was disturbed by the existence in Tanzania of a military service which was divorced from the political and social aspirations of the new State. In the aftermath of the January 1964 army mutiny, Nyerere disbanded the two mutinous battalions of the Tanzanian army. The mutiny which seemed "to have been little more than a soldiers' strike for more pay and for the rapid replacement of British officers by Tanzanians"[19] had lasted five days. This mutiny opened Nyerere's eyes to the fragility of the power base of his government. He began in 1964 from scratch to build a new national army fully imbued with the socio-political ideology of the TANU government.

The revolution in Zanzibar had occurred just before the army mutiny. In April 1964, the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar was arranged. The new nation which became the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964, embarked on a development strategy that continued to be

dominated by the legacies of the colonial past. This was obvious in the First Five-Year Plan, which was launched in July 1964.[20] Although Nyerere realized that his political and social objectives could only be achieved through an integration of economic and political policies, it seemed, at this juncture, there was very little he could do to accelerate the much needed infrastructural reforms. As was the case during the preceeding Three-year Development Plan period, the economic infrastructure, outside the peasant economy, was dominated by the interests located outside of Tanzania. Thus the process of exploiting Tanzanian raw materials and the exploitation of man by man continued unabated.[21]

In 1961 Nyerere had reluctantly agreed to continue salary scales for the senior ranks of the civil service and for members of Parliament and ministers which he, at that time, felt were far too high for a country as poor as Tanzania. After he published Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism he was faced with salary differentials which made much less likely any real acceptance of his plea for social equality. Prior to the students' revolt which prompted drastic reductions in salaries, Nyerere had remarked that "the wage differentials in Tanzania are now out of proportion to any conceivable concept of human equality. A few individuals can command incomes of up to £3,000 a year while the minimum wage is £60 a year, and many farmers receive less".[22]

In October 1966, Nyerere made the attitudes and values of those in privileged positions in Tanzania a major topic of public discussion. Earlier on in the same year, he had inaugurated a compulsory National Service program for all Tanzanian post-secondary school students.[23] The details of this two-year para-military service were set out in the

National Service Staff Circular of July 17th, 1967.[24] The students' reactions to the call to National Service were bitter. In the thick of the confrontation, 400 students staged a protest march to the State House. In an outburst of anger and disappointment at the students' selfish attitude, Nyerere decided to 'send home' all the 'protesting' students. It took five months to persuade him to grant the students affected by the mass expulsion permission to return to their studies.[25]

Despite Nyerere's strong stand against the students, Nyerere realised that the issue raised by the students that he must first ask his TANU members, his ministers and other government officials to dissociate themselves from individual acquisitive tendencies, was true. As the poor farmers in the villages were getting poorer, there was a steady growth in the number of richer businessmen and senior government officials. According to K. Ngombale-Mwiru:

> Many a TANU leader forgot about what TANU stood for and threw himself into the race for personal aggrandizement ... this had led, slowly but ineluctably, to the formation of two clearly distinguishable classes among the African population - the classes of the haves (the politico-bureaucratic-bourgeoisie) and the masses of the people.[26]

Soon after the confrontation with the students, Nyerere introduced many drastic and far-reaching changes aimed at a more just distribution of the national wealth. He initiated a reduction in salaries in an effort to keep the differences in wealth between the rich and the poor within reasonable limits. For example:

> Civil service salaries about £660 were cut on a progressive scale reaching a 10 per cent top for Principal Secretaries and the Cabinet and President Nyerere took 20 per cent cuts. Action was set in motion to create machinery to limit

> urban wage increases to 5 per cent a year and tie them to productivity. The rate was seen as the highest plausible goal for rural income per capita growth and, therefore, the maximum wages could be allowed to rise without leading to growing urban exploitation of the countryside.[27]

Despite the surprised reaction to the Arusha Declaration of 1967, especially outside Tanzania,[28] Nyerere's experience in office between 1962 and 1966, as the preceeding brief account has demonstrated, had clearly foreshadowed the Arusha Declaration. More than anything else the crisis in foreign policy and the practical experience of the failure of the First Five Year Plan, prompted Nyerere to adopt a more self-reliant strategy in his drive towards a socialist state. The major preoccupation of Nyerere towards the end of 1966 centred on how to resolve the ambiguity which existed in the relationship between the philosophy of Ujamaa and its significance as a theoretical framework for the development of socialism in Tanzania. This is how Nyerere explains the stalemate.

> During 1966 there was a gradual realisation that although some economic progress was being made, and although we were still talking in terms of a socialist objective, the nation was, in fact, drifting without any sense of direction. A lack of coordination between our different objectives and policies was resulting in confusion; some of our people were getting disheartened; and there was a widespread tendency to look to others for our salvation instead of concentrating on our own efforts and resources.[29]

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION: Ujamaa Ideology of Development

It did not take Nyerere long to realise that the reason for the political drift his country was experiencing was primarily due to the fact that the social changes he was trying to bring about were not

intelligible to the common man; also, the Ujamaa developmental goal lacked sufficient definition. The handwriting on the wall dictated that there had to be a high priority given to ideological clarity if the objective of Ujamaa was to be achieved. Nyerere became increasingly convinced that his revolutionary socio-economic reform program could not succeed unless he had a clearly defined framework of common goals and a precise program of action which would be a definite break with the neo-colonial past. At this point in time, Nyerere was led to believe that ideas played a major role in socio-political action, as there was a close correspondence between ideas and socio-economic development. Through the introduction and clarification of an ideology of socialism, Nyerere hoped to be able to mobilize mass participation and motivate the masses to achieve the socialist reconstruction of Tanzania.[30] He thought of ideology itself as being an active agent for social change, since ideology tends to conceptualize the historical process and orient human beings for shaping it.[31]

Nyerere was by no means unique in his search for an ideological base for his philosophy of Ujamaa. Ideologically inspired experiments in socio-economic reconstruction and nation-building became widespread in Africa after the struggle for independence began in the late nineteen-fifties.[32] For example, Kwame Nkrumah, the foremost advocate of socialism in Africa, took "Nkruma-ism" as the ideological base of his socialism in Ghana.[33] Leopold Senghor of Senegal adopted "negritude";[34] while Sekou Toure of Guinea had for his ideological base "cultural universalism".[35] Ujamaa, especially as it was presented in the Arusha Declaration, was the ideological foundation of Nyerere's dream to transform Tanzania into an economically viable classless society.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to delve into the intricate analysis of the elusive concept of ideology.[36] Ideologies are, however, in the final analysis, intended to persuade or oppose different views. For this reason, ideologies carry a strong moral content.[37] Our primary consideration here is to set out, in certain perspectives, the moral objectives which Nyerere's ideology was intended to achieve and to ask to what extent he succeeded in attaining his goals.

Nyerere's ideology of socialist development as it eventually evolved in the Arusha Declaration, included "a theory of history, a program of action and a conception of a desired state of affairs".[38] In terms of content, Nyerere's ideology manifested two types of ideas: "the existential idea" and the "normative idea".[39] At the existential level, ideology helped Nyerere to describe and analyse the different objective aspects of the present Tanzanian conditions in such a way that the common man was better able to understand existing phenomena. He made "assumptions about the nature of human reality including the meaning and direction of history, the nature of man, the relation of man to society and the distribution of power and authority in political life".[40] Nyerere's "existential idea" had thus given birth to a heightened political, intellectual and social awareness of the existing neo-colonial exploitative condition. At the "normative idea" level, he proposed some definite goals and mapped out the strategy for revolutionizing the present condition.

Nyerere used ideology to effect changes firstly at the individual/cultural level and secondly at the level of institutional norms.[41] The Arusha Declaration was a definite break with the neo-colonial past and a dissociation with the capitalist attitudes of mind. As such, it

demanded changes not only in individual attitude of mind but also changes in the present institutional norms. As Nyerere emphasized, the changes had to be revolutionary, because it was impossible to use structures and strategies that were designed to serve the capitalist exploitative interests for the building of a socialist, egalitarian society. When Nyerere said that there had to be a revolution,[42] it should be noted that he did not talk in terms of insurrections, rebellions, revolts or even coups. Perhaps the concept of revolution which best represents Nyerere's notion is that given by Samuel P. Huntington.

> A revolution is a rapid, fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership, government activities and policies.[43]

Through an appeal to a cultural revolution, a revolution which focused on the reconstruction of the traditional African attitude of mind, Nyerere attempted to re-socialize the people of Tanzania for the purpose of nation-building. If it is true that "ideology may be seen as a propensity to act in certain way",[44] Nyerere was determined to re-vitalize the traditional African communalistic values with the objective of shaping the interests, values and beliefs of the present generation of Tanzanians, so that they can act always in the Ujamaa socialist way. Nyerere undertook to resort to ideology to inspire socialist behavior in his people because of the impact of colonialism and the subsequent erosion of the traditional system of value.[45] Before the colonial invasion, traditional African society had a pattern of shared beliefs, values and moral standards. But with colonialism came the breakdown of cultural systems throughout Africa. The old patterns of legitimacy were destroyed; as a result, there emerged a

pervasive sense of disorientation. Individuals were left without an explanation of the rapid changes that were taking place or an interpretation of experience that gave purpose and significance to their behavior.[46] In a situation such as this, Nyerere thought that it was only within the context of traditional African cultural experience, education and attitudes of mind that present changes in Tanzania could be adequately explained. As far as Nyerere was concerned, only a reconstruction of the African past was able to provide a coherent basis for understanding the ideology of Ujamaa.

Far from being merely a philosophical jargon, Nyerere reiterated that "Ujamaa is a way of life".[47] It implied a new mode of thought and an ideology which transforms beliefs and values into concrete action. Ujamaa implied a dedication to the equality of all men by seeking practical solutions to the socio-economic problems of man: exploitation, poverty, ignorance and disease. There is no Ujamaa if these pious hopes are not transformed into a living reality. And for this to happen there had to be a revolutionizing of existing institutional norms and political institutions. In the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere made a bold and sustained effort to reorganize Tanzania's institutions so that they would truly promote universal human dignity and put an end to the exploitation of man by man. Andre De La Rue speaks for many unbiased critics of Nyerere when he comments as follows:

> The Arusha Declaration taken together with its immediate implementational measure constitutes the first coherent and comprehensive action programme toward democratic African socialism, the prevention of a politico-economic elite dominated society, and the radical reconstruction of the power structure of economic decision making in Anglophonic Africa.[48]

Arusha Theme of Social Justice

The Arusha Declaration is a declaration of principles, objectives and intentions couched in general terms. It is not the intention of this thesis to analyse the Arusha Declaration in its entirety, but to interpret those propositions in the document which lend weight to the building of an equalitarian and just Tanzanian society. To this end, the aspects of the Arusha Declaration to be treated under social justice are: a) the socialistic concept of the individual and the society, b) the principle of human dignity, c) the philosophy of basic needs and d) the principle of equity.

a) Society does not just happen to hold together in the working out of a common social life and purpose, it requires an integrating organizing force. Ideology plays a definite role in forging this unifying bond. Nyerere had in various speeches rejected the individualistic concept of the relationship between the individual and the society, but it was in the Arusha Declaration that he clarified, once and for all, the distinction he had been trying to make between the individualistic concept of man and society and the socialistic concept.

To express it very simply, the individualistic concept espouses two basic tenets. The first is that the individual and his interests and rights are supreme and take precedence over the interests and rights of the society. The second tenet is that there is no such thing as common good or common interest. Even where any such common interests exist they are immediately abolished when they come into conflict with individual liberty.[49] Nyerere maintained a very delicate balance between the individual and the society. On the positive side, he emphasized and established the dignity and worth of the individual

personality, stating that man is not a mere abstraction but each person has value in his own right in society.[50] He contended that there is an individuality in all men of all races, that has its rights and that must be held sacred by society. Hence it was very important that the society's desire to promote the common interest must include the welfare of every individual man and woman, and beside, "every member of society must have safeguarded by society his basic humanity and the sacredness of his life-force".[51] The basis of socialism, Nyerere insisted is man, every individual member of the society, not the state, not a flag; it is the service of man regardless of color, size, shape, skill, ability or any other considerations.[52] For this reason, Nyerere contended that as far as possible, individual development and individual liberty must not be sacrificed to the demands of organizational mobilization.

However, Nyerere believed that society must be organized and this social organization must rest on the ideal of the common good and equal opportunity. This organization must make it possible for each individual to develop himself fully while contributing his very best to the growth of the entire society. Nyerere made it clear in the Arusha Declaration that society is, above all else, a unity of spirit and purpose; it is a community of effort and achievement. He is convinced that there is a common good; that somewhere in the inner-depths of each individual there is the conception of the coveted goal toward which all men are striving. Nyerere hoped that through socialist education, each individual would be impelled to service and sacrifice for others, so that together all may attain the common good.

Nyerere is a firm believer in the old proverb which says: "united

we stand, divided we fall". More than individual initiative, he argued that it was collective initiative that made social progress possible. Society falls into the rut of neo-colonial ineptitude and stagnation if there is no collective initiative to give rise to new lines of activities. In the new Tanzanian society Nyerere wanted to build, the emphasis would be on "we" instead of on "I". As the respected teacher himself puts it:

> The question 'what profit would I myself get?' must be socially discouraged; it must be replaced by the question 'what benefit and what loss will be obtained by the people who make up this society?'[53]

No doubt the interest of the individual and the common interest are not always wholly common. Nyerere realised this. But taking a lesson from the traditional African society, he argued that individual interest and common interest need never be antagonistic. "In his own traditional society", Nyerere states, "the African has always been a free individual, very much a member of his community, but seeing no conflict between his own interest and those of his community".[54] He thought that in many cases of seeming conflicts between the interest of the individual and the common interest, it was because of misunderstanding or a failure in adjustment between the two. He advocated that "a new attempt should be made to synthesize the conflicting needs of man as an individual and as a member of society".[55]

The synthesis of claims which Nyerere advocated could best be realised through the principle of freedom and voluntary cooperation among individuals and social groups. However, he insisted that if there were some well established principles on which society operates, then, "no advocacy of opposition to these principles can be allowed".[56]

To say this, Nyerere contended, was not a negation of the freedom which a synthesis was supposed to uphold. There can be - indeed must be in a changing situation - public discussion about whether particular measures which are proposed support or nullify the principles on which a given society operates.[57] Nevertheless, Nyerere cautioned there cannot, for example, be public advocacy of inequality between citizens and no actions which degrade one law-abiding citizen in relation to another. He continues:

> We do not allow a man to preach in favour of private individual killing because we know that this would undermine the basis of society ... These are restrictions on individual freedom ... but we do not regard ourselves as having become 'unfree' because of them.[58]

The principle of freedom, Nyerere argued, should be accepted as the grand dominating principle inspiring the wholesome synthesis between the interest of the individual and the common interest. This type of freedom, while being uncompromising about what he referred to as "well established principles", must nevertheless be able to make room for the eccentric and the non-conformist in society. In the words of Nyerere: "It is the eccentric who by the very irritation he causes, stops society from ceasing to think, forces it to make constant re-evaluations and adjustments".[59]

The social progress that advanced the overall development of man, according to Nyerere, could only be achieved through the spontaneous endeavors of equal and free individuals. It was not a question of forcing the socialistic concept of man and society on his people. By providing leadership and proper education, Nyerere was doing no more than rejuvenating the traditional African concept of communalism on account of which the individual could say: "I am because we are, and

since we are, therefore I am".[60] Individual rights and interests were not abolished, but were made to conform to a socialist society where the common good took precedence over any individual interest. Nyerere reiterated that there need not be any conflict between individual and common interests; it is in fact, only when both were working in tandem that Tanzania could hope to make a reality of the principles of equality and freedom which are written into the Arusha Declaration and TANU policy for Tanzanian socialism.

b) Without the acceptance of equal human worth, the philosopher-president never tired of saying, there can be no socialism. A person who does not accept human equality "may accept many policies pursued by socialists; but he cannot be a socialist nor can any socialist organization which is based on inequality justify the support of socialists, whatever its political or economic practices".[61] A major objective of the Arusha Declaration was to provide the framework for economic justice based on the principle of human dignity.

Man cannot successfully cope with the forces of nature and secure for himself a living from the earth except in cooperation with other men. Once again, Nyerere used ideology to forge an economic bond among the people of Tanzania. An economic ideology became necessary because, according to Nyerere, the practical issues connected with economic injustice could not be effectively dealt with until one had theoretically decided between alternative economic systems and their distributive outcomes. One's choice would largely depend on whether one regarded the economic theatre to be basically cooperative or competitive. In this matter, as would be expected, Nyerere opted for a cooperative economic system - this system alone satisfied the goal

of Ujamaa. The Arusha Declaration reflected how Nyerere conceived of the economic sphere of life: it was not merely an economic manifesto, it was a commitment to a particular quality of life.

> It is based on the assumption of human equality, on the belief that it is wrong for one man to dominate or exploit another, and on the knowledge that every individual hopes to live in society as a free man able to lead a decent life in conditions of peace with his neighbours.[62]

The total liberation of man was the centerpiece of the Arusha Declaration, and this involved economic liberation as well as psychological emancipation. Society, as had already been stated, is not a thing; it is a process and it must be organized in order for it to serve man. There must be a social organization of economic activities which is conducive to the greater production of things useful for the material and spiritual welfare of man. This means that it may well be a function of society to organize and sustain efficient economic organization and production techniques, even when these are in themselves unpleasant and restrictive.[63] But Nyerere unequivocally stated that production was not the purpose of society. He insisted that "the purpose of all social, economic and political activity must be man",[64] and humanity's progress must be measured by the extent to which man is freed from the domination of the need to produce. In expressing his priority for human dignity, Nyerere bluntly stated that: "when the demands of 'efficiency' and 'production' override man's need for a full and good life, then society is no longer serving man, it is using him".[65]

Nyerere did not compromise his principle of human worth and dignity, not even in the face of impoverished economic conditions. He insisted that man, at all levels, must always be accorded equal human dignity and must be regarded as an end in himself, never simply as a

means. Andre De La Rue seem to have captured the gist of Nyerere's thought when he postulated that if individuals are not of equal worth, then collective man cannot be of equal worth; and if men are inherently unequal in human worth, then a classless society is less rational than a Platonic Republic.[66]

c) The Arusha Declaration stated that "Tanzania is a state of peasants and workers".[67] Only this specific class character of the state together with its ownership of the major means of production, according to Nyerere, was a guarantee that every citizen of Tanzania could have his basic needs satisfied. The concept of basic needs is subject to various philosophical interpretations,[68] however, most philosophers suggest that one's basic needs include a home, food, clothing and adequate medical service. The principle of the satisfaction of basic needs obviously has a place in any adequate social ethic. It would be a rare and a calloused sense of justice that would not be offended in a society where a handful of privileged few enjoy their affluence, while the vast majority of the people languish in miserable poverty. In an attempt to forestall this type of situation from engulfing Tanzania, Nyerere emphasised that the minimal qualification of common humanity entitled all human beings on an equal basis to certain basic necessities of life. To deny any man these basic needs amounted to the exploitation of man by man. Nyerere pleaded with his people in the following words:

> We have to work toward a position where each person realises that his rights in society - above the basic needs of every human being - must come second to the overriding need of human dignity for all.[69]

In Tanzania, as in most emergent African nations, the reality of

under-development has made it impossible for all men to enjoy the basic necessities of life. In presiding over the liquidation of the Tanzanian economy which existed as the tentacles of the British capitalist "mother economy" held fast, Nyerere was inspired by the overwhelming evidence of "The Less Developed Countries" economic experts that underdeveloped economies are dependent, exploited and blocked economies.[70] He realised that for Tanzania to liberate her productive forces, a new independent economy had to be created. The Arusha Declaration signaled the emergence of a Tanzanian economy designed to secure control over large scale production and to give priority to utility minded instead of profit minded economic outputs. In the days immediately following the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere nationalized all banks, insurances, big industries, mines, and major wholesale trades owned or operated by international capitalist investors.[71]

The raison d'etre for the nationalization and public ownership of the major means of production, Nyerere stressed, was, in the first instance, to guarantee that every citizen of Tanzania had the opportunity to meet his basic needs, and secondly Nyerere believed that public ownership would bring material benefit to the masses. According to K. Ngombale-Mwiru:

> Notwithstanding its explicitness, the problem of the exploitation of man by man should be attached to its origin: the institution of private property. Private ownership of the means of production and distribution leads necessarily to the exploitation of man by man. For all manifestations of exploitation can be traced to this root ... All the healthy forces of the nation should be geared towards overthrowing private capital towards the building of a socialist society.[72]

It must be noted that Nyerere did not deny the right to private property,

neither did he totally reject the role of private investments in the Tanzanian economy.[73] What he denounced was the vermin of exploitation associated with ownership of private property and the avaricious abuse of private investments. An interesting parallel could be drawn between the public statements of Nyerere on the vices associated with private ownership of the means of production and the famous dictum that 'property is theft' originally espoused by Proudhon. However as Robert Tucker explains, this Proudhonian dictum does not imply that all possession of goods is illicit, but rather that the system of rules that permits the owner of a factory to hire workers and draw profits from their labor robs the workers of what is rightly theirs. This profit, consisting of a portion of the proceeds of labor that rightfully belongs to the laborer himself, is "theft". The injustice of private ownership of the means of production consists in the fact that those who create the wealth, through their labor, get only a small part of what they create, whereas those who "exploit" their labor, receive a greatly disproportionate share.[74]

Nyerere was quick to realise the danger of implementating a policy of nationalization in an economy which for historical reasons, had been dominated by Europeans and Asians. His nationalizations were not expropriations without compensation, they were reformist measures with compensation promised and actually negotiated.[75] This notwithstanding, the nationalization exercise did in some cases assume racial overtones. In prompt reaction, Nyerere published a paper entitled: "Socialism Is Not Racialism",[76] in which he explained that his nationalization policy was not directed against any particular race. The reason for nationalization was to abolish the exploitation of one man by another and to

remove the tendency whereby there was accumulation of wealth by any individual to a level incompatible with the existence of a classless society. Nyerere cautioned that any Tanzanian who "hates" Europeans, Jews or Asians was not a true socialist, because he was denying the equality and brotherhood of all men. In order for Tanzania to begin to make some progress on the path of Ujamaa socialism, it was necessary to have effective control over the major means of production, but at the same time all Tanzanians must hold fast to the tenet that "without an acceptance of human equality there can be no socialism".[77]

d) In his book, A Theory Of Justice,[78] John Rawls points out how the principle of equity is one of the essential requirements of distributive justice. As far as Nyerere was concerned, the rules and principles based on fairness, especially with regard to man's basic needs (right to a decent life) must be fulfilled before any individual can presume to accumulate unnecessary wealth or, in the president's words, "have a surplus above his needs".[79] Nyerere's material principle of economic justice was that national wealth should be distributed to each and every member of the society "on the basis of equality".[80] In postulating this principle, he assumed that all the citizens accept the obligation to work and contribute their best to the socio-economic wealth of the nation.[81] In order to cope with the problem of incentives, it did seem that Nyerere was willing to make a few exceptions in cases where there was reason to believe that unequal distribution causally determined greater production. However, this "unequal distribution" must not be in defiance of the satisfaction of man's basic needs. For in this relevant respect all men are equal, therefore it would be unjust to treat any man unequally as far as the distribution of basic needs are concerned, even when the issue of incentive was at stake.[82]

Nyerere believed in the old adage that "virtue is its own reward". He is determined to change the attitude of his people that money can be an adequate reward for patriotism, diligence, integrity or cooperation with others to build a society worthy of man. Virtues, such as these and many more besides, he insisted, cannot be rewarded by larger economic allotments or in terms of pecuniary rewards. As Benn and Peters point out, "there are some sorts of 'worth' for which rewards in terms of income seem inappropriate. Great courage in battle is recognized by medals, not by increased pay".[83]

The principle of treating all men alike except where there are relevant differences between them fits perfectly into Nyerere's theory of social justice. However the thorny problem has to do with the definition of what constitutes "relevant differences". Nyerere admitted that men were different in merits, in natural and in acquired skills. But he refused to see these as constituting "relevant differences", especially under certain circumstances, where someone would want to use such merits or skills as an excuse for accumulating all by himself enough wealth to sustain over a thousand poor farmers. He argued that because of the factor of lack of equal opportunity for everyone to acquire certain skills, those who have the opportunity ought not to make excessive demands on those who, through no fault of theirs, did not.

In most cases, Nyerere argued, the differences in acquired skill, for example a university degree, was not accounted for solely by the individual but also by the state or society as a whole. It was the entire people of the state whose tax money goes to subsidize university education. For this reason, the university graduate ought to think

of his degree, in the very first place, as a tool which enabled him to contribute to the state (society) in return for what he had received. His unmistakeable message was that any trained professional, the doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and so on, who seeks his own fullest personal development must think first not in terms of self-aggrandisement (or demanding the lion's share), but in terms of repaying his debt to the society which had enabled him to attain his professional status. In the socialist Tanzania Nyerere is trying to build, the interests and activities of the individual and society are so closely linked together that the individual can successfully use the gifts which society so freely bestows upon him, only if he employs these gifts as a contribution to the socio-economic welfare of all. Nyerere's appeal to all educated and skilled Tanzanians, but most especially to those among them who wish to get unduly high pecuniary rewards for their talents, was that a true socialist attained to the highest good as an individual only as he sought the highest good of all. In other words, a true socialist reaches his own peak of success and richest personal development only through selfless service to others, especially the less fortunate.

To conclude our treatment of the Arusha theme of social justice, it seems very appropriate to quote the following challenge Nyerere posed to his people.

> The real question, therefore, is whether each of us is prepared to accept the challenge of building a state in which no man is ashamed of his poverty in the light of another's affluence, and no man has to be ashamed of his affluence in the light of another's poverty ... Everyone of us has to give the answer to this.[84]

The Arusha Policy of Self-Reliance:

Self-reliance was the summary theme in Nyerere's ideology of transforming Tanzania into a modern socialist nation. It was at the heart of the dissociative "attitude of mind", the national economic policy and the educational policy. In his words:

> Self-reliance is a positive affirmation that we shall depend upon ourselves for the development of Tanzania, and that we shall use the resources we have for that purpose ... We are saying to ourselves that we are going to build a self-reliant socialist society ... We are saying: Here is land ... this is the amount of knowledge, skill and experience we have ... Now let us get on with it.[85]

An attempt will be made here to study the concept of self-reliance from the point of view of intellectual self-reliance and economic self-reliance; the next chapter of this thesis is devoted to an analysis of some implications of education for the policy of self-reliance.

The Arusha Declaration stated that the first condition of development was "hard-work", while the second condition was the "use of intelligence".[86] So important was brain power that it could be said that in many cases the man who tried his hand at something always loses to the fellow who uses his head. Human intelligence is no doubt the highest attribute to man, and the exercise of choice is the crown of human intelligence. But how can a man judge or make the right choice if he lacks self-confidence or if his mind is unused? Nyerere rightly remarked that "a mind unused atrophies and man without mind is nothing."[87] It is impossible for any group of people to succeed in building a revoluntionary

society if such a people cannot count on their own creative abilities. What this implied for Tanzania was that the people must first have to regain their self-confidence before a new socialist society could emerge. The people of Tanzania must learn to rely on their own human and material resources if the country was to be liberated from all vestiges of imperialism.

The literature of liberation is replete with evidence of how foreign imperialism overtly or covertly destroyed the self-esteem of all colonized peoples. Paulo Freire has very aptly summarized this dehumanizing experience as follows:

> Self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them. So often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything - that they are sick, lazy and unproductive - that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness.[88]

Within the Tanzanian context, Nyerere explained how the Africans were indoctrinated by their colonial masters to think that "they were not capable of doing this or that", and how they "accepted this verdict."[89] The colonial masters reserved to themselves the role of intellectual and moral leadership and instilled in the Africans fear of their leadership. This veneration of the Whiteman's intellectual genius gave birth to an intellectual inferiority complex among the Africans. Having before him the splendid model of his colonial masters, the African became very unsure of himself; he was too scared to think for himself and too timid to inquire into the nature of things or ask questions.

The only process by which the African people of Tanzania could

regain their brain power, Nyerere reiterated, was through a dynamic ideological education directed at changing the depersonalizing concepts and values "which have been instilled in us by the Portuguese, the Germans, the Arabs, and the British."[90] Nyerere wished to impress on his people that every individual needed the power to think for himself, if he was to adapt to his environment. It was only through thinking for himself that man could expand his knowledge and come nearer to the peak of self-reliance. In a prepared speech read to the staff and students of Kivukoni College, Nyerere said:

> If we are to contribute to man's progress, the most important thing for us to do now is to guard our freedom to THINK as well as to act. Both can be lost. No one else can stop a man thinking, but he can stop himself and indeed the temptation to do so is strong because thinking is hard work and introduces into life uncertainties which only the strong can face.[91]

Self-reliance implied the ability to intelligently question the status quo; it meant being able to appraise opposing alternatives realistically and make the right decision; it was choosing the right data upon which to develop one's thinking and actions. Self-reliance meant originality in thought, and competence. The Arusha policy of self-reliance was, above all else, an intellectual challenge; it challenged the educated citizens of Tanzania to wake up from their intellectual slumber.

> The attitude of intellectual laziness is most destructive and is incompatible with our new policy of self-reliance. The point is that a person who does not read, who does not bother to think and question, who does not try to know more cannot but depend upon other people's brains.[92]

According to Nyerere, a truly liberated nation was a self-reliant

nation, one which had freed itself from economic, intellectual and cultural dependence on other nations, and was therefore able to develop itself in free and equal cooperation with other members of the world community.[93] The type of development that Nyerere focused on was personal development; it was the development not of things but of people. It was only the development of people that could bring about freedom and equality; and this development had to be self motivated. In Peoples Plan for Progress, he comments:

> People cannot be developed; they develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's house, an outsider cannot give the man the pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. These things, a man has to create in his self by his own actions. He develops himself by what he does. He developes himself by making his own decisions by increasing his understanding of what he is doing and thereby increasing his own knowledge and ability, and by his own full participation as an equal in the life of the community in which he lives.[94]

The neo-colonial mentality gave rise to a false sense of objectivity among the people of Tanzania. This false objectivity made it impossible for most Tanzanians to distinguish the wonderful from the impossible. It consisted in thinking that "foreign loans" and "foreign handouts" will always be forth-coming to alleviate the suffering of the masses. In their desire to be like the industrialized nations, some misguided Tanzanians saw nothing wrong with inviting a chain of capitalists to come and establish industries in Tanzania.[95]

In the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere made it perfectly clear to his people that if Tanzania wished to be truly independent and to vigorously pursue her policy of socialism, she could not rely on

foreign loans and gifts, especially given the uncertain dialectical relation between international politics and economics. He therefore embarked on a stringent self-reliant economic policy; a policy designed to be "efficient and scientific both in our decision-making and in our execution of decision."[96] Nyerere did succeed to a very large extent in destroying the false sense of objectivity referred to above, by insisting that it was only the people of Tanzania who had the best interest of Tanzania at heart. If every Tanzanian did not brace himself for the "war against poverty and oppression"[97] by seeking new solutions to the economic problems the country faced, Tanzania would continue forever, or at least for many more years, to be a dependent nation.

Nyerere singled out "the people and the land" [98] as the two most readily available local resources upon which Tanzanian self-reliant economic policy ought to be built. The people must learn anew to do constructive hard work. In fact, he recommended that the people work for longer hours, and emphasized that the building of a socialist society cannot come about without the efforts of everyone contributing to their full capacity.[99] While not advocating a complete neglect of industrial development, Nyerere regarded agriculture as the avenue par excellence for the bringing about of self-reliance.

> For the foreseeable future the vast majority of our people will continue to work on the land. The land is the only basis for Tanzanian development; we have no other. Therefore, if our rural life is not based on the principles of socialism our country will not be socialist, regardless of how we organise our industrial sector, and regardless of our commercial and political arrangements.[100]

Nyerere contended that it was only through increase in agricultural production that "we can get more food and more money for every Tanzanian."[101]

In line with the delicate balance of relationships between the individual and the society he had already established, Nyerere made it clear that the focus of socialist self-reliance was on collective self-endeavor. While the individual was called upon to be self-conscious, to be innovative and so on, individual self-reliance is not the aim of Tanzanian socialism. The process by which people become self-reliant socialists has one underlying factor. According to Nyerere, this factor is:

> Common struggle, common labor. It is by a relentless, conscious endeavor to work together, to struggle together for the common good that people learn to be socialists and in consequence become socialists.[102]

Without taking anything away from individual initiative, Nyerere's policy of self-reliance hinges on collective initiative and group cooperation. A self-reliant nation is a nation where every member of the society is self-reliant not through individual competitive effort but through collective effort. This is how "the respected teacher" himself explains it:

> If every individual is self-reliant the ten-house cell will be self-reliant; if all the cells are self-reliant the whole ward will be self-reliant, and if the wards are self-reliant the District will be self-reliant. If the Districts are self-reliant, then the Regions are self-reliant; and if the Regions are self-reliant, then the whole Nation is self-reliant and this is our aim.[103]

Nyerere does not deny that certain measures he has taken to

foster self-reliance have resulted in economic losses to Tanzania, but his countering argument is simple and time-tested: "Government understands that our people do not believe that it is better to be a wealthy slave than a poorer free man."[104]

"Ujamaa Vijijini" in Practice (1966 - 1979)

A crucial element in Nyerere's ideology for a self-reliant Tanzania was an appeal to the rural people to form socialist villages. Nyerere realised that for many years to come Tanzania will remain a predominantly agricultural economy. Hence, he argued, emphasis on development strategy must be concentrated on self-reliance in the agricultural sector.

Based on the model of the African traditional village setting,[105] the Ujamaa Village with its emphasis on communal ownership, cooperation and mutual responsibility, was to be the nucleus of Nyerere's socialist development process, providing home, food, work and social security for rural Tanzanians. Within this setting, he urged the individual members of the village, to submit their particular interests to the general interests of the larger village community. He stressed the need for a strong sense of cooperation and sharing among the members of the socialist village, often suggesting that the realization of the individual's needs depended on the success of the collective endeavor of the entire village community.

The objective of Nyerere's pet program was to encourage rural Tanzanians to live together in villages, to farm collectively in communally owned farms and to share fairly the products of their collective work.[106] In order to achieve this objective Nyerere

hoped to rely on political education and rational persuasion. The TANU cadre, the teachers and all officials of the government were to transmit to the masses the official theories and concepts concerning Ujamaa Vijijini.[107] The emphasis of this ideological education was to be the transformation of the post-colonial individualistic Tanzanian into a new selfless, socialist man. Nyerere believed that by putting the emphasis on the revolutionization of the rural man's ideas, attitudes and way of thinking, a tremendous material force could be released which would push the establishment of Ujamaa villages to ever-higher levels. Correct education and mobilization, he thought, would put the rural man at the center of his own development and enable him to break the grip of the neo-colonial attitudes which have retarded his socio-economic progress.

In September 1967, eight months after the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere wrote "Socialism and Rural Development". In it he set forth the principles of Ujamaa Vijijini. He argued that individual peasant farming was a barrier to the transition to socialism in Tanzania because it was, to adopt the words of Mwansasu and Pratt, "likely to inculcate personal acquisitiveness, to undermine communalism and to generate rural inequality."[108] In January 1968, Nyerere delivered a speech entitled: 'Progress in Rural Areas', in which he gave a more detailed account of how Ujamaa Vijijini would spread. He emphasized that the policy of Ujamaa Vijijini "was to be implemented by persuasion in a step-by-step fashion flexibly adapted to the specific social-economic conditions of an area."[109]

The next major publication on the subject of Ujamaa was in

October in 1968. In 'Freedom and Development' Nyerere made two very important points. The first of which was that no force or coercion was to be used in establishing an Ujamaa Village. He warned against any reluctant individual being unduly pressured to join an Ujamaa village. Secondly, he made it clear that an Ujamaa village was to be democratically run by its members, who would also have the power of making final decisions concerning the well-being of their village. In the words of President Nyerere:

> Ujamaa villages are intended to be socialist organisations created by the people, and governed by those who live and work in them. They cannot be created from outside, nor governed from outside. No-one can be forced into an Ujamaa village, and no official, at any level, can go and tell the members of an Ujamaa village what they should do together and what they should continue to do as individual farmers ... An Ujamaa village is a voluntary association of people who decide of their own free will to live together and work together for their common good ... They, and no one else, will make all the decisions about their working and living arrangements.[110]

With the official blessing and encouragement of Nyerere Ujamaa Vijijini started to spread in 1968.[111] At the end of that year the number of villages had risen to 180. In the subsequent years Ujamaa villages flourished throughout Tanzania.[112] Jonathan Barker has given the following progress report. In December 1969, there were 650 villages; in 1970 there were 1965; in 1971 the villages numbered 4484 and 5556 in 1972. In 1973 and 1974 the figures were 5628 and 5008 respectively. From September 1973, the policy of persuading people to enter ujamaa villages was formally replaced by one of forcing everyone to enter a village, and the figures by then mean little or nothing.

It is not the intention of this thesis to undertake a comprehensive study of each of these villages.[114] It will suffice to select a few villages to make our point. Among the notable Ujamaa projects that failed were 'Operation Dogoma' and 'Operation Kigoma'. In April 1970 an ambitious program was launched to bring together into villages the whole three quarter million people living in the dry Dogoma Region. This was followed shortly after, by yet another daring project in the Kigoma region, another dry area of endemic famine.[115] Both projects failed and so did the project in the Tanga Region. In the opinion of Michaela Von Freyhold, if there were about a dozen Ujamaa villages in the country which had escaped the usual poverty, it was due to the exceptional circumstances: heavy material assistance, close proximity to main marketing centres and usually favourable conditions for crop production or other activities.[116]

In contrast to Dogoma, Kigoma and Tanga, the Ruvuma settlements provided in the early seventies the most significant set of examples of cooperative farming in Tanzania.[117] However, in the opinion of Freyhold, the successes of these few villages, whose future is still uncertain, could in no way be generalized to the majority of the poverty stricken villages throughout the country.

> One of the reasons for the success of the Ruvuma Development Association had been the ability of the association to foster a division of labour between member villages and to seek out new and cheaper trading connections outside the villages ... When the RDA was dissolved and the member villages had to deal again with the cooperatives only their production programmes narrowed and their incomes declined.[119]

Although the number of Ujamaa villages had increased dramatically

during the post-Arusha period yet their productive output did not bring about Nyerere's dream of socialist villages flowing with milk and honey. Many critics agree with Jonathan Barker's following assessment of Ujamaa Vijijini:

> As a policy for the promotion of rural socialism and the increase of productivity the 1969-73 effort must be read as a failure, perhaps a qualified failure, but a failure none the less.[119]

As Nyerere watched in disbelief and dismay the failure of Ujamaa Vijijini, he was now willing to forego voluntary persuasion in favour of the use of force to establish villages.[120] At the TANU Conference in September 1973, it was resolved that all rural Tanzanians must live in nucleated settlements by 1976. Accordingly, there followed a massive villagization policy in which rural Tanzanians, including the unemployed people who were frequently picked up from the streets of Dar es Salaan, were forced to settle in villages. Unlike the Ujamaa Vijijini, there was no requirement for socialist practices in these clustered villages.[121] Also, the education and inducement strategies which were associated with the Ujamaa villages were abandoned. Those who lived in these village settlements were neither obliged to engage in collective production nor to adhere to the Ujamaa principle of working together and sharing together the products of communal efforts.[122]

Why Did Ujamaa Vijijini Fail

Several authors have put forward different reasons for the failure of the project.[123] Among the recurring reasons why communal villages made little progress and finally failed are the following.

There was the case of bureaucratic apathy and indifference to the plight of the villages. In the opinion of Michaela Von Freyhold, the ruling party that had called for communalization did not support poor and middle peasants against "Kulaks".[124] Closely associated with the first point was the fact that Nyerere did not, in practice, support the democratic structures of the socialist villages against the authoritarian bureaucracy, whose interests often conflicted with those of the villagers.[125]

There were constraints on the quantity and quality of the skills and resources the Ujamaa vijijini project required in order to succeed. As Jonathan Barker observes, "the managerial and planning capacity to make each Ujamaa scheme work were simply not available."[126] In support of Barker's view, Freyhold adds that Nyerere failed to make whatever technical and managerial staff there was "serve the villages loyally and intelligently".[127]

Another reason for the failure of Ujamaa vijijini was considerable lack of clarity about the basic principles and values of the programme.[128] It took Nyerere several speeches and writings to try to clarify the concept of Ujamaa vijijini. In the end the concept remained as clear as muddy water. This lack of clarity resulted in conflicts between the ideology of Ujamaa vijijini and its practice. The only hope that the program would have succeeded rested on effective leadership. But unfortunately, Nyerere was unable to generate among the TANU cadres a leadership which could persuade and teach the people, while at the same time learning from them and identifying with their interests.

In 'Freedom and Development", Nyerere stressed that the

villagers had the final decision-making power in matters that affected their villages. In theory, it was up to the villagers to ask for whatever assistance and advice they considered useful. In practice, however, the government officials offered to the villagers what ever they and the agronomic experts considered to be useful and feasible, and the Ujamaa villagers generally endorsed such proposals as their own, thinking that any assistance was better than none and wanting to remain on good terms with the donors.[128] According to Freyhold:

> The disparity between official ideology and practice was echoed by the administrators themselves who would say that all planning and demand for aid had to come from the peasants themselves and then add within a few minutes that the peasants were incapable of planning and needed someone to make the choices for them".[130]

A serious area of contradiction between Nyerere's ideological statements and the official practice had to do with the manner of establishing an Ujamaa village. Nyerere had categorically stated that 'no force' was to be used, neither were any reluctant individuals to be goaded into joining Ujamaa villages. In her assessment of Ujamaa villages in Tanzania, Michaela Von Freyhold devoted several pages to the treatment of: "Segera: A Village Started with force".[131] In the end she concludes as follows:

> "The opinion of the staff on the use of force differed. TANU and Maendeles Staff regarded the use of force as regrettable since one could not make people understand the purpose of Ujamaa that way nor commit them to it. The various executive officers, however, argued that without force there would not have been an Ujamaa village at Segera."[132]

The deadlock arising from the conflict between Nyerere's ideology of the socialist villages and the actual practice, has made Tanzania's drive towards socialism something of an utopian dream. New imaginative insight is required to reverse the prevailing bleak situation.

Theories and Realities

What are the strengths and what are the weaknesses of Nyerere's ideology? How effectively has Nyerere dealt with the obstacles created by the emergent African petty bourgeoisie in Tanzania?

Has Nyerere's ideology succeeded in dramatizing to the citizens of Tanzania the moral values and prestige of the nation and the priority of national solidarity? The opinions of scholars not only differ but are sometimes often contradictory. As Mwansasu and Pratt point out, ideological differences divide and redivide the commentators on Nyerere's socialist ideology. "So influential", they write, "are the ideological convictions of some writers that a few have felt themselves able on doctrinaire and a priori grounds to dismiss the whole socialist endeavour in Tanzania as being not 'really' socialist."[133]

Among the "democratic socialists"[134] there are some critics who argue that Nyerere's ideological tactic has succeeded primarily only in strengthening his own political power while making the general citizentry more receptive to the exercise of such power.[135] As K.A.B. Jones-Quartey rightly points out, in the emergent African states public opinion does not select ideology but approves or disapproves of what the political leader puts forward.[136] True as this may be, it has to be observed that the Tanzanians approve of

Nyerere's ideology not as something coming from a benevolent dictator, but from "baba wa taita" (father of the nation). Nyerere is verv careful at least, in theory, that there are no dominators and dominated, no group of people who are the systems innovators while others only act on cues or are passive recipients of orders. One of the strengths of Nyerere's ideology for modernizing Tanzania, some would argue, is that wide participation and considerable decentralisation in decision making has been achieved and maintained within the overall framework of clear national goals. According to Andre De La Rue:

> Tanzania is far from monolithic in its approaches to issues or programmes, policies or projects; discussion is by and large free and open and there is wide room for local and individual initiative.[137]

While not doubting the validity of De la Rue's observation there is no doubt that "the particular genius of Julius Nyerere"[138] has the practical effect of imposing a limit on the level of participation. Nyerere is known to have developed from scratch the philosophy of Ujamaa; he personally wrote the famous Arusha Declaration and completed Education For Self-Reliance virtually on his own. John R. Nellis has cautiously observed that Nyerere's "strong constitutional and power position within the Tanzanian system, combined with the strength of Nyerere's intellect and the relative absence of competing figures and positions, make it possible to suggest that the ideology of the Tanzanian political system and the ideology of Julius Nyerere are one and the same thing."[139] It is potentially dangerous for so much power to be concentrated in one man. Rene Dumont rightly points out in reference to the awesome

influence of Nyerere, that "believing oneself capable of thinking on behalf of a whole people could make one lose a sense of balance and begin to see oneself as a prophet ... one tends to take one's desires for reality."[140]

Nyerere, however, strongly denies that he is a prophet. He insists that the philosophy of Ujamaa is not a projection of his arbitrary personal preference on the people of Tanzania. Nyerere dismisses as "nonsensical" the criticism that his dream of a society based on the principles of love, sharing and work, is idealistic and amounts to wishful thinking. In response to this kind of criticism, Nyerere puts up the following counter argument:

> The ... major challenge to the validity of the principles of love, sharing and work as a basis for society is made on the grounds that they are too idealistic, particularly for large groups where the members cannot know each other. This criticism is nonsensical. Social principles are by definition, ideals at which to strive and by which to exercise self-criticism. The question to ask is not whether they are capable of achievement, which is absurd, but whether a society of free men can do without them.[141]

For an ideology to succeed it has to build on mass support. In Tanzania where a majority of the population is illiterate, Nyerere deserves some commendation for establishing a variety of forceful TANU organizations who propagate ideological socialization to the masses. By and large, it could be said that Nyerere's ideology is acceptable to most Tanzanians. Among the reasons for the acceptance, two seem to be crucial. The first is that in Tanzania, apart from the TANU cadres and the civil servants, there is an absence of a powerful self-interest elite group to oppose Nyerere's socialist ideology. The second reason is the personal example of Nyerere's

own unflinching loyalty and dedication to the cause of a socialist Tanzania. He lives what he preaches. It is appropriate to recall that Kwame Nkrumah's ideology had crumbled because it lacked mass support. Also Nkrumah's socialist institutions had become the centres of dogmatism, bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption, and extravagance. Without any doubt, Nkrumah's self-deification and colossal vanity speeded his downfall.[142] Nyerere's qualities and "modus operandi" constrast sharply with those of Nkrumah. Nyerere's tolerance, his encouragement of mass participation in discussing and analysing his ideology, but above all, his pragmatism, augurs well for the transition towards socialism in Tanzania.

One of the critical problems which is no doubt creating an obstacle to the overall achievement of the goals of the Tanzanian revolution is the emergence of an authoritarian TANU bureaucracy.[143] In the Arusha Declaration Nyerere stressed the role effective leadership could provide in the crucial process of the transition to socialism. In theory, Nyerere wanted to see emerge in Tanzania a new breed of leaders at all levels. Leaders who are rid of such capitalist tendencies as selfishness, egotism, intrigues and other forms of exploitative vices. Nyerere dreamed of leaders who would be "good examples to the rest of the people through their actions and in their lives."[144]

Paradoxically, the TANU leaders and the senior civil servants by virtue of their education, their training and particularly their life-styles, have become the most intractable obstacles to Nyerere's socialist goals.[145] In an effort to curb elite privileges, the Arusha Declaration included a "leadership code". This code prohibited

better-paid civil servants and TANU leaders from owning private business. But as Michaela Von Freyhold has aptly observed:

> In practice this code was very frequently violated but was nevertheless necessary in order to ensure that the State economy was not crippled by parasitic and competing private interests and in order to legitimize the State economy in the eyes of the masses. This did not, however, rule out individual capitalistic initiatives for those who retired often accumulating the necessary starting capital.[146]

A very important but perplexing question Nyerere has yet to answer in a practical way is, whether it is just to drag some people down because he wants to raise some people up in his pursuit of socio-economic equality. There is a limit to which Nyerere can equalize the wage structure without destroying the socio-economic basis of the nation.

In April 1967 a special session of parliament was held to discuss the implications of the Arusha Declaration. Much to the disappointment of Nyerere, his parliamentarians were more interested in their personal pocket books than in social justice or the welfare of the masses. Of the twenty-one questions tabled, more than half focused on the reductions in wages.[147] In defense of his equalitarian policy, Nyerere argued that he was not trying to remove incentive from people who were trying to improve their lot in life. His objective was to re-examine the whole structure of work incentive in a manner that was compatible with a reduction in the earnings gap between the high and low paid groups on the one hand, and the masses of unsalaried farmers on the other. Nyerere argued that he did not want to kill work incentive but he was eager to prevent the

continued growth of an elite class in Tanzania, characterized by wealth, privileges and disproportionate access to social and economic opportunities.

Nyerere had theorized at the outset of his social philosophy that Ujamaa was "an attitude of mind". It was an attitude of mind which either a poor man or a rich man could adopt. Without entirely abandoning his idea, the actual process of the transition towards socialism, especially since the Arusha Declaration, has no doubt heightened Nyerere's consciousness of the real obstacles to socialist commitment in the attitudes of the African "petty bourgeoisie",[148] comprising the TANU leaders, the rich kulaks and the well-paid civil servants.

NOTES

1. J.K. Nyerere. "Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism". See, Freedom and Unity. op.cit. Also published as TANU Pamphet, 1962.

2. J.K. Nyerere. "President's Inaugural Address". See, Freedom and Unity op. cit., p. 178.

3. See, Chapter 3, ibid.

4. See. The Arusha Declaration, op. cit.

5. Other policy papers apart from The Arusha Declaration include: "Public Ownership in Tanzania" Sunday News Dares Salaam: February 12, 1967; "Socialism Is Not Racialism", Nationalist Dares Salaam: Feb. 14, 1967; "After the Arusha Declaration (1967); "Freedom and Development" (1968) Progress in Rural Areas" (1968) "The Development of Ujamaa Villages (1969) and "TANU to Run ALL Ujamaa Villages" (1969).

6. See, The Arusha Declaration, op. cit.

7. John Hatch. Two African Statesmen, op. cit. p. 183.

8. Michaela Von Freyhold, Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania Analysis of a Social Experiment. Monthly Review Press, N.Y., 1979, p. 120.

9. J.K. Nyerere: "Democracy & Party System: January 1963: See, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 195-203.

10. For a collection of essays on Tanzania's one-party system see: Lionel Cliffe (ed) One Party Democracy. (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1967).

11. J.K. Nyerere: "Guide to the One-Party State Commission: 1964" See, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 261ff.

12. For an analysis of the Three-Year Development Plan, see: Crawford Pratt: The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968. op. cit. p. 96-103.

Also see: Tanganyika Three Year Development Plan (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1961).

Also: Henry Bienen: Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970). pp. 276-280.

13. Crawford Pratt, op. cit., p. 174.

14. Ibid., p. 127.

15. Some scholars believe that Nyerere was actually pro-East.

16. Crawford Pratt, op. cit., p. 153.

17. For a presentation of the "Four Marxian Interpretations" see C. Pratt, op. cit., p. 153-154.

18. Ibid., p. 155.

19. This is the opinion of Crawford Pratt. For a comprehensive study of the Army Mutiny see: Harvey Glickman: Some Observations on the Army and Political Unrest in Tanganyika. (Pittsburgh: Institute for African Affairs, Duquesne University, 1964).

20. Also see: Henry Bienen: Public Order & The Military in Africa in the Military Intervenes: Case Studies in Political Development, edited by H. Bienen (N.Y., 1968).

20. See: Tanzania First Five Year Development Plan (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1965).

21. J.K. Nyerere, "The Tanzanian Economy". See Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 157.

22. J.K. Nyerere, Introduction: Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 16.

23. National Service (Amendment) Act, 1966 (No. 64). (Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1966).

24. See: National Service, Staff Circular No. 5. (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, July 1967).

25. See, C. Pratt, op. cit., pp. 233-234.

26. K. Ngombale-Mwiru. "The Arusha Declaration on Ujamaa na Kujitegamea... See: Socialism in Tanzania Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 53.

27. Andre De la Rue: "Ujamaa on the March". See: Socialism in Tanzania Vol 2, op. cit., p. 45.

28. Ibid., p. 40.

29. J.K. Nyerere: "The Tanzanian Economy". See: Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 157.

30. Jean Mfoulou. "Ideology and Nation-Building: The Tanzania Case". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. (Boston: Boston University, 1974). Also see: Karl Lowenstein, "The Role of Ideologies in Political Change", International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. V, No, 1, (1953), pp. 51-74.

31. William A. Mullins. "On the Concept of Ideology in Political Science". American Political Science Review, Vol. LXVI, No. 2 (1972), p. 504.

32. Apart from the other books referred to in the area of African socialism, I strongly recommend: African Socialism, edited by William H. Friedland and Carl G. Rosberg Jr. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

33. D. MacRae, "Nkrumahism: Past and Future of an Ideology", Government and Opposition, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Dec. 1963).

Some Essential Features of Nkrumaism (Accra: The Spark Publications, 1964).

Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology. (London: Heineman, 1961).

34. Leopold Senghor. On African Socialism. Translated by Mercer Cook; (New York, Praeger, 1964).

35. Sekou Toure. Toward Full Re-Africanization. (Paris: Prescence Africaine, 1959). Also see: "Cultural Universalism", Political Leader as the Representative of a Culture., op. cit.

36. For a general background study of Ideology within the Less Developed Countries context: see, The Ideologies of the Developing Nations, edited by Paul E. Sigmund. (New York: Praeger, 1963). Also see, Ideology, Politics and Political Theory, edited by Richard H. Cox, op. cit.

37. Edward C. Banfield. The Moral Basis of a Backward Society. (Chicago: The Free Press, 1958).

38. John R. Nellis. A Theory of Ideology: The Tanzania Example. (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 33-82.

39. T. Parsons has enumerated the types of ideas associated with an ideology see: Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory. (New York: The Free Press, 2nd Edition, 1954), p. 54.

40. Ibid.

41. Lloyd Fallers, "Equality, Modernity and Democracy in the New States" in Old Societies and New States: Modernity in Asia and Africa. Edited by Clifford Geertz (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 194.

42. See Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965). Also see: George Lichteun, The Concept of Revolution and Other Essays (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

43. Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 264.

44. See, James Mittelman, Ideology and Politics in Uganda, op.cit., p. 29.

45. Ali A. Mazrui, Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972).

46. Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System" in Ideology and Discontent. Edited by David E. Apter. (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 47-76.

47. J.K. Nyerere, "President's Inaugural Address", op. cit., p. 186.

48. Andre De La Rue. op. cit., p. 42.

49. For a general study of the individualistic concept of society see: John Locke: The Treatise on Government; Thomas Hobbes. Leviathan; J.J. Rousseau, The Social Contract; J.S. Mill, On Liberty.

50. J.K. Nyerere, "All Men are Equal". See: Freedom and Development. (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 370-373.

51. J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity. op. cit., p. 15.

52. J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism. op. cit., p. 4.

53. J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity. op. cit., p. 16.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., p. 20.

56. Ibid., p. 14.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. J.K. Nyerere, "Groping Forward". See: Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 122. To many people, the idea expressed in this paragraph, is double talk. In Durkheim's sociology Communalism is a form of collectivism which is excessive, so that the individual is not independent in his judgment (as science, ideology requires) and is absorbed into the collectivity. This is the generally held western sociological critique that Nyerere does not seem to meet.

60. John S. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy. op. cit., p. 224.

61. J.K. Nyerere, "The Varied Paths to Socialism". op. cit., p. 303.

62. J.K. Nyerere, "The Purpose Is Man". op. cit., p. 316.

63. David Feldman, "The Economies of Ideology: Some Problems of Achieving Rural Socialism in Tanzania". In Politics and Change in Developing Countries. Edited by Colin Leys. (London: Cambridge University Press 1969).

64. J.K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration. op. cit., p. 1.

65. J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity. op. cit., p. 16.

66. See, Introduction, p. 4., Socialism in Tanzania. op. cit.

67. J.K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration. op. cit., p. 16.

68. John Rawls, "Justice as Fairness". The Philosophical Review LXVII, (1958).

69. J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Unity. op. cit., p. 17.

70. For a selected reading on the subject, see: Walter Rodney How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. op. cit.; A.G. Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), and Denis Goulet, The Cruel Choice (New York: Atheneum Press, 1973).

71. J.K. Nyerere, "Public Ownership in Tanzania". See: Appendix II, Arusha Declaration, op. cit.

72. K. Ngombale-Mwiru, "The Arusha Declaration on Ujamaa na Kujitegamea and the Perspectives for Building Socialism in Tanzania". In Socialism in Tanzania, Vol. 2. op. cit., p. 53.

73. J.K. Nyerere, "Public Ownership in Tanzania", op. cit.

74. Robert Tucker, "Marx and Distributive Justice". In Justice. Edited by C.J. Friedrich and J.W. Chapman. (New York: Aldine-Atherton Press, 1963), p. 311.

75. Rene Dumont. "Julius Nyerere and Tanzanian Socialism", op. cit., p. 4.

76. J.K. Nyerere, "Socialism is not Racialism". op. cit.

77. Ibid., p. 257.

78. John Rawls, A Theory of Justice. op. cit., Chapter 1.

79. J.K. Nyerere, "The Varied Paths to Socialism". See: Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 325.

80. J.K. Nyerere, "Leaders Must not be Masters", op. cit., p. 142.

81. J.K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, op. cit., p. 18.

82. J.K. Nyerere, "The Varied Paths to Socialism", op. cit., p. 306.

83. I. Benn & R.S. Peters. Social Principles and the Democratic State. (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1969), p. 139.

84. J.K. Nyerere, "The Purpose is Man", op. cit., p. 326.

85. J.K. Nyerere, "After the Arusha Declaration". See: Freedom and Socialism. op. cit., p. 388.

86. J.K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, op. cit., p. 15.

87. J.K. Nyerere, "Groping Forward". op. cit., p. 120.

88. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed. op. cit., p. 49.

89. J.K. Nyerere, "Leaders Must not be Masters", op. cit., p. 140.

90. Ibid.

91. J.K. Nyerere, "Groping Forward". op. cit., p. 121.

92. K. Ngombale-Mwiru. op. cit., p. 67.

93. J.K. Nyerere, "Our Education Must be for Liberation". op. cit., p. 4.

94. J.K. Nyerere, People's Plan for Progress (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1969), p. 1.

95. J.K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, op. cit., p. 9-11.

96. J.K. Nyerere, "The Tanzanian Economy". See: Freedom and Socialism, op. cit., p. 171.

97. J.K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, op. cit., p. 4.

98. Ibid., pp. 13ff.

99. Ibid., p. 15.

100. Ibid., p. 11.

101. Ibid., p. 14.

102. See Juma C. Mwaphachu, Mbioni, Vol. IV, No. 111 (August/Sept. 1967).

103. J.K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, op. cit., p. 18.

104. J.N. Nyerere, Principles and Development. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1966), p. 9.

105. C.R. Ingle, From Village to State in Tanzania. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968). Also see: H. Mapolu, The Social & Economic Organization of Ujamaa Villages. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, September 1973.

106. Jonathan Barker, "The debate on Rural Socialism in Tanzania". See: Towards Socialism in Tanzania (ed.), op. cit., p. 95.

107. J.K. Nyerere, "Socialism & Rural Development". See: Freedom & Socialism, op. cit., pp. 337-366. Also see: S.R. Toroka, "Education for Rural Ujamaa Living" (Dar es Salaam, 1973).

108. Bismarck Mwansasu & C. Pratt, "Tanzania's Strategy for the Transition to Socialism". See Towards Socialism in Tanzania, op. cit. p. 13.

109. J. Barker, "The Debate on Rural Socialism in Tanzania", op. cit., p. 97.

110. J.K. Nyerere, "Freedom and Development". See Freedom & Socialism, op. cit., p. 67.

111. For an analysis of the Pre-Arusha Village settlements see: A Report on the Village Settlement Programme from Inception of the Rural Settlement Commission to 31st Dec., 1965. (Dar es Salaam, Survey Division, 1966).

112. L. Cliffe and Cunningham. "Ideology, Organization & Settlement Experience in Tanzania. See: Agriculture & Public Policy in East AFrica, edited by E.A. Brett & D.G.R. Belshaw. (Nairobi East Africa Publishing House, 1971). Also see: Socialism in Tanzania (Ed.) Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 131-140.

113. J. Barker, op. cit., p. 99.

114. For a comprehensive bibliography of books and articles that have been written about Ujamaa Vijijini, see: Towards Socialism in Tanzania. (Mwsansasu & Pratt), op. cit., chapter 5.

115. Lionel Cliffe, 'The Policy of Ujamaa Vijijini and the class Struggle in Tanzania'. See: Socialism in Tanzania, Vol. 2, op. cit. p. 202.

116. Michaela Von Freyhold, Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania... op. cit., p. 107.

117. Cliffe & Cunningham, "Ideology, Organization..." See: Socialism in Tanzania, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 139.

118. Michaela Von Freyhold, Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania..." op. cit., p. 127.

119. J. Barker, "The debate on Rural Socialism in Tanzania", op. cit., p. 100.

120. See Jannik Boesen, "Tanzania: From Ujamaa to villagization" in, Towards Socialism in Tanzania, op. cit., p. 125-143.

121. Jannik Boesen, ibid., p. 136.

122. J. Barker, "The debate ..." op. cit., p. 99.

123. See: Reginald Green, "Tanzania political economy goals, Strategies and Results.' in Towards Socialism in Tanzania, op. cit., pp. 19-43; Gerald Helleiner, 'Socialism & Rural Development in Tanzania' Journal of Development Studies (1970); G. Hyden, 'Ujamaa Villagization & Rural Development in Tanzania', ODI Review (January, 1975), pp. 53-72; Ellman, 'Progress, Problems & Prospects in Ujamaa Development in Tanzania', ERB paper 70.18 (Dar es Salaam, University of Dar es Salaam, Mimeo, 1970); J. Wayne, 'The Development of Backwardness in Kogoma Region", see: L. Cliffe et. al. (eds.), Rural Cooperation in Tanzania, (Dar es Salaam, East Africa Publishing House, 1975).

124. A kulak is defined as a rural capitalist who hires labour on his farm and who is also a businessman. There was no area in Tanzania, according to M. Von Freyhold (op. cit., p. 42) where members of this class could not be found and where they were not increasing their economy power. See: H.U.E. Thoden Van Velzen, "Staff, Kulaks & Peasants: A Study of a Political Field", in J.S. Sanl & L. Cliffe (eds.) Socialism in Tanzania Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 153-178.

125. Michaela Von Freyhold, Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania... op. cit., p. 120.

126. J. Barker, "The debate ..." op. cit., p. 100.

127. Michaela Von Freyhold. Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania... op. cit., p.117.

128. Ibid., p. 81. Also see: S,S, Mushi, "Ujamaa Modernization by Traditionalization" Tasmuli, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Dar es Salaam, March, 1971).

129. Ibid., p. 103.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid., pp. 125-141.

132. Ibid., p. 128.

133. Mwansasu & Pratt, "Tanzania's Strategy ...", op. cit., p. 4. A majority of these scholars are "Marxist-socialist". See: Crawford Pratt, ibid., p. 233 (Note 3).

134. See Crawford Pratt, in Mwansasu & Pratt, op. cit., p. 233 (Note 3).

135. See Gordon Hyden: "We Must Run While Others May Walk: Policy Making for Socialist Development in the Tanzania-Type of Politics". (Dar es Salaam: Economic Research Bureau (751) 1975). See: Bismarck Mwansasu: "The Changing Role of Tanu", in Towards Socialism in Tanzania, op. cit., p. 186.

136. K.A.B. Jones-Quartey, "Institutions of Public Opinion in a Rapidly Changing West Africa". In Africa: The Dynamics of Change. Edited by H. Passin and Jones-Quartey. (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1963), p. 165ff.

137. Andre De la Rue, "Ujamaa on the March" op. cit., p. 50.

138. See, G.L. Cunningham in Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1978), p. 311.

139. John R. Nellis, A Theory of Ideology: The Tanzanian Example op. cit., p. 97.

140. Rene Dumont, "Julius Nyerere and Tanzanian Socialism", Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. 9, No. 1 (May 1968), p. 9.

141. J.K. Nyerere, Introduction to Freedom & Unity, op. cit., p. 13.

142. M.M. Sauldie, "Recent Trends in African Socialism", African Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 3 (Oct.-Dec., 1967), p. 254.

143. Reginald H. Green, "Politic economy goals..." op. cit., p. 31. Also, James Fonucane, "Bureaucracy and Development in Rural Tanzania: The Case of Mwanza Region" (London, 1972, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of London); Tamas Szentes, "Status Quo and Socialism" in The Silent Class Struggle, (Ed.) (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1973), pp. 78-117.

144. J.K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, TANU Pamphlet, p. 18.

145. C. Pratt, The Critical Phase ..., op. cit., p. 232-236.

146. Michaela Von Freyhold, Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania... op. cit., p. 120.

147. J.K. Nyerere, Arusha Declaration: Answers to Questions. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967). Also see: Knut E. Svendsen, "Socialist Problems after the Arusha Declaration", East Africa Journal IV, (May, 1967). Also see: J.K. Nyerere, "After the Arusha Declaration", in Ujamaa Essays on Socialism, op. cit., pp. 145-177; Aart Van de Laar, "Arusha: Before and After", East Africa Journal V (November, 1968).

148. Issa G. Shivji has used this terminology in his book: Class Struggles in Tanzania (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976).

CHAPTER VI

OBJECTIVES AND PERSPECTIVES IN TANZANIAN EDUCATION 1967-1979

Aims and Means of Tanzanian Education

It can be said without fear of contradiction that no other African leader has propounded such explicit qualitative and quantitative aims of education as Nyerere has done for Tanzania. The process started in earnest with the promulgation of The First Tanzania Development Plan (1964-1967).[1] As pointed out in chapter four at this time Nyerere felt the need for a new philosophy of education which would emphasize agricultural education. However, during the 1964-67 development plan period, Nyerere was able to produce only a piece-meal agricultural educational objective. In 1964, agricultural education was re-introduced into the school curriculum. It was hoped that agriculture as a practical course would provide the pupils with some knowledge of Tanzania's main industry. And for those entering farming industry it would provide some practical experience and understanding of agricultural activities. During the same period, Nyerere tried vigorously to ally education to the emerging aspirations of the nation. However, the break-through did not come until 1967. Education for Self-Reliance,[2] (hereafter referred to as ESR) published in March 1967, could be considered the maturation of Nyerere's thought on educational theory and practice for socialist Tanzania. It conveyed Nyerere's blue- print for revolutionary changes in the entire Tanzanian structure of education. ESR incorporated three items: (a) an ideology, (b) an educational philosophy, and (c) a program for organizational changes.

(a) In ESR, Nyerere made it clear that the critical test of a worthwhile education was whether it provided the youth of Tanzania with a set of attitudes, beliefs and facts about himself in relation to his social environment which was appropriate for the society in which he lived. In other words, according to Nyerere, education had to provide a set of ideas justifying and helping to maintain the socialist goals which Tanzania had set for all her citizens. The values and ideals of any give society are inevitably reflected in the type of education that it provides for its youth. This could be regarded as the stabilizing role of education. But in addition, Nyerere saw education as an instrument of social change. Since Tanzania had definitely decided to break with her colonial past, it had to impart to her youth those values which were in accordance with the overall-ideology of Ujamaa. In order to inspire new ideals or bring about social change, to adapt the words of Arthur Gillette, "old truths must be questioned and outmoded institutions must be dismantled. For old truths to be questioned, there must be ready access to new ideas."[3] This was the reason that ESR was ideological' it set out new ideas and new alternatives in the task of revolutionizing Tanzania through education. In re-affirming the necessity for a new educational policy, Nyerere noted:

> It is no use our educational system stressing values and knowledge appropriate to the past or to citizens in other countries; it is wrong if it even contributes to the continuation of those inequalities and privileges which still exist in our society because of our inheritance.[4]

The ideological aspect of ESR focused on the promotion of co-operative behavior and egalitarian values. In ESR Nyerere expressed with particular clarity egalitarian sentiments in connection with

evidence of socio-economic inequality in access to education. On many occasions he indicated how such inequality contained the danger of the self-reproduction of the elitist-intelligentia group. The concept of education for the elite, Nyerere stressed, must be regarded as a negation of the Ujamaa basic principle of human equality. Commenting on the existing unequal educational system in Tanzania Nyerere declared:

> The education now provided is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows; it induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority; and leaves the majority of the others hankering after something they will never obtain. It induces a feeling of inferiority among the majority, and can thus not produce either the egalitarian society we should build, or the attitudes of mind which are conductive to an egalitarian society. On the contrary, it induces the growth of a class structure in our country.[5]

Nyerere hoped he could broaden the scope of equal access to education for all citizens of Tanzania.

Another important ideological objective of ESR was to introduce into Tanzania the type of education which was calculated to develop the quality of sociability, the feeling of identity and kinship with fellow-human beings, and above all, an education which would foster the social goals of living together and working together for the common good of all. Such an education would prepare the youth of the country to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a Tanzania in which "all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well being, not prestige buildings, cars or other such things."[6]

(b) Nyerere attempted, in ESR, to produce some kind of theoretical

scheme for education out of the social, cultural and daily axiological problems of his contemporary Tanzanian society. This is, very simply stated, what constitutes for some philosophers the essence of a philosophy of education.[7] Nyerere tried to formulate worthwhile operational goals of education, within a socialist context. He re-constructed the foundation of Tanzanian education by establishing the concepts and ideas which ought to generate the basic attitudes and values which education must promote in a socialist Tanzania. Like his philosophy of Ujamaa, Nyerere's philosophy of education was "operational", that is, it not only propounded theories but put such theories into action. In other words, Nyerere's philosophy of education was oriented towards the solving of the problems of man and improving his human condition. In ESR, there is a similarity between Nyerere's thought and the suggestion made by Otto Krash that, "philosophy of education must adopt the notion that philosophizing ought to make a difference in the educational scene. The tools of philosophy must be put to work on the problems of man wherein philosophizing may achieve significance for man."[8]

Nyerere proposed ends, goals and norms for the Tanzanian educational process, which teachers and administrators were to promote, and advocated the means by which these ends were to be achieved. He also sought to justify his recommendations about ends and means, so far as this was possible, by reference to available facts and moral principles. Such an assessment of the process of education in the author's opinion, fits what Israel Scheffler refers to as the "programatic" approach to education. According to Scheffler, the programatic model spells out in explicit terms what the business of

education is about; it tells us that "this is the way things should be."[9] Nyerere's definition of education is a mixture of the is and the ought, as it both describes and prescribes what ought to be done. Consider, for example, the following statements about education:

> The purpose of education is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom, knowledge, skills, values and attitudes of the society ... to enable the young to live in and serve the society and to prepare them for their future membership of the society ... It involves the active participation of the young in the maintenance and development of the society.[10]

An analysis of the above definition of education reveals the descriptive and prescriptive elements in Nyerere's concept of education. In the first place, education is described as an instrument or institution of the society; it has a set program which is the preparation of the young for their future membership of society. Then there is the prescriptive injunction that education ought to equip the young to participate actively in the development of society.

As a theory of education ESR was to promote a sense of responsibility, creativity and critical thinking, integrity, broadmindedness and also promote relevant knowledge related to agriculture and other technical skills. ESR committed Tanzania to a program of education "for fullness", emphasizing the unity of manual and mental work.

(c) In order to translate the broad aims of his philosophy of education into concrete reality, Nyerere proposed some major organizational changes. Changes which, in his own words, have to do with "the content of the curriculum itself, the organization of the schools and the entry age in primary schools."[12] Perhaps the most important change that Nyerere wanted to bring about was a change in the attitude

towards education in general. Up until now, Nyerere declared: "we have not questioned our basic attitude towards education which we inherited from our colonial past... We have not done that because we have never thought about education except in terms of obtaining teachers, engineers, administrators, etc. Individually and collectively we have in practice thought of education as a training for the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of our economy."[13] There had to be a dissociation from the colonial concept of education which encouraged subservient attitudes and fostered the individualistic instincts of man instead of his cooperative instincts, and induced attitudes of human inequality which in practice "underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong."[14]

Nyerere proposed alterations in curriculum aimed at raising the quality of schooling, so that even at the primary school level, the education given might be complete in itself -- be "education for living"[15] -- and not simply a preparation for the secondary school. Also Nyerere proposed measures designed to abolish the policy whereby the secondary and tertiary levels of schooling functioned to reinforce the existing unequal social structure.

> The education given in our primary schools must be a complete education in itself. It must not continue to be simply a preparation for the secondary school. Instead of the primary school activities being geared to the competitive examination which will select the few who go on to secondary school, they must be a preparation for the life which the majority of the children will lead. Similarly, secondary schools must not be simply a selection process for the university, teachers' colleges, and so on. They must prepare people for life and service in the villages and rural areas of this country. For in Tanzania the only true justification for secondary education is that it is needed by the few for service to the many.16

In Education for Self-Reliance, Nyerere recommended a number of proposals for making the schools carry on activities designed to make the schools financially self-sufficient, for example, the "shamba' or school farm. This latter change was to relate the school pupils and their education to the realities of the problems facing Tanzania, especially the problem of rural underdevelopment. Because Nyerere believed that "we cannot expect those finishing primary school to be useful young citizens if they are still only twelve or thirteen years of age"[17] he suggested raising the school entry age from six to nine years. This way it was hoped, the output of the primary schools will be economically useful as soon as they graduated from school.

Having given an overview of the three broad aspects of ESR, the rest of this chapter will examine some pivotal problems of education (the nature of the pupil, the concept of knowledge, the curriculum and the role of the teacher), within the context of ESR.

From the time of the Greek philosophers Ethica, Logica and Physica have been treated as the three main subdivisions of philosophy. These are the sources of our more recent terms axiology, epistemology and ontology. Nyerere in his nature of man is dealing with axiological questions; and in his nature of knowledge, he is dealing with epistemological questions, but he has not really dealt with any of the important ontological questions in any of his writings.

Axiological Perspectives

The primary assumption of Julius Nyerere was that a genuine philosophy of the curriculum ought to be grounded on a comprehensive philosophy of the nature of man, that is, the pupil to be educated. Man's understanding of himself and the world around him is greatly influenced by the views he holds; the things he believes to be true concerning his own nature as well as the nature of the society in which he finds himself. Hence it could be said that any philosophy of education depended on the view taken of the person who is to be taught. As Maurice Friedman observes many philosphers are unanimous in affirming that "the conception of 'what man is' is basic to the philosophy of education."[18] There are, of course, difference views of the nature of man and this is perhaps why there are philosophies of education, instead of a philosophy of education.

The theme of dehumanization was central both to Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa and his educational thought. Modern man, he lamented has been deracinated and reduced to the level of a mere thing.[19] According to Nyerere, the capitalist man was not only the object of exploitation, but even worse than that, he had ceased to think for himself, to make his own decisions and, in short, to be a free rational person. Because his daily work was always cut out for him in the profit oriented factories, he faced no challenge to be creative or even to be himself. He was programmed to be and to do not what he wanted to be or to do, but what others wanted him to be and to

do. As C.S. Lewis comments in his thought provoking book entitled The Abolition of Man: "The power of man to make himself what he pleases means the power of some men to make other men what they please."[20]

Nyerere interpreted the prevailing capitalist concept of man in terms of "a tool to be manipulated by his employer"; man is a "marketable commodity", to be used and exploited in order to maximize the capitalist's profit. He expressed his outright disgust for such a conception of man in the following words:

> The purpose of education is not to turn out technicians who can be used as instruments in the expansion of the economy... (there is) a serious distinction between a system of education which makes liberated men and women into skillful users of tools and a system of education which turns men and women into tools, ... I would like to be quite sure that our institutions are not going to end up as factories turning out marketable commodities. I want them to enlarge men and women, not convert men and women into efficient instruments for the production of modern gadgets.[21]

Nyerere not only rejected the capitalist exploitative view of man, he also disagreed with the capitalist individualistic concept of man. He contended that man fails to be what he ought to be so long as he is individualistic, egoistic and refusing to cooperate with others on an equal basis for the welfare of society.

On the basis of Nyerere's rejection of the concept of man as a "manipulative tool", it could be assumed that he would be opposed to the position of the "hard determinists".[22] The hard determinists use the model of classical mechanics to show that man and his conduct is determined by heredity, environment and physiological conditions, on the same grounds that matter has been shown to be determined.[23] As Max Born puts it: "men like all other things are only automata."[24]

According to this point of view, man is nothing but a robot, a machine or an adaptive control system. The hard determinists regard all mental predicates, such as, motive, intention, reason, purpose, mind and so on, as meaningless in describing the nature of man. What is mistakenly referred to as mental processes, they claim, is more appropriately understood as mere "homeostatic restraints in a stimulus-response process."[25]

If one believes that man is nothing but a complex machine, then, to adopt the words of John Fodor, the control of human conduct could very well be uncritically accepted as the ultimate goal in the application of research and evaluation to education.[26] This is the manifest intention of the behavioristic model of education:

> It is to manipulate, be it to coax a person to buy a certain product, to feel a certain way, to accept killing, ... or to accept certain beliefs. Behaviorism denies man his soul, excepting as it can be programmed from the outside. It denies that man's most valuable trait is his capacity for spontaneous activity, that he can be guided from within regardless of the pressures exerted from without.[27]

Nyerere did not simply content himself with exposing the depersonalizing aspects of the capitalist and reductionist concepts of man, but he projected in most of his writings and speeches a positive socialist concept of man. The nature of man, as it gradually unfolded in Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa, was greatly influenced by traditional African concept of man.[28] According to this view, the source of growth and humanness is not externally created but is essentially within the human person. Man is rational and this implies that he has the freedom to pick and choose. The contingency of nature imposes on man the urge to create his essence and to make those choices which will

enable him to attain personal growth and self-fulfillment within the tribal community. As Placide Temples rightly remarks in Bantu Philosophy, there is the common belief that man is responsible for his own self-improvement, for his progress and conduct, and for the survival of his tribal community.[29] Borrowing a leaf from the pages of traditional African philosophy, Nyerere's view was that man is not a robot; neither is he simply a passive receptacle of changes and ideas imposed on him from without. Through the activation of his "vital force"[30] man becomes a conscious transformer of himself and his social world.

Nyerere's concept of the nature of man and the best education suited to man was a mixture of humanism and socialism. He shied away from proclaiming God as "the ultimate purpose of life, thought and education".[31] Nyerere believed that man is both spiritual and material, but it was the secular man and his material welfare that engaged the full attention of the philosopher-president. He saw the objective of education as that of developing the theoretical and practical reason in man, thereby making him a good citizen, enhancing his material well-being and social security. Education was to enable man to enjoy the good life in this world, or as Nyerere puts it, enjoy the "good life in the villages".[32]

Nyerere's concept of 'the educated man' is one who is liberated both in his mind and his body; one who is deeply aware of his potential as a human being; one who is in a positive, life-enhancing relationship with his neighbor and his environment. The following quotation captures the gist of Nyerere's concept of 'the educated man':

> Education has therefore to enable a man to

> throw off the impediments to freedom which restrict his full physical and mental development. It is thus a matter of attitudes and skills -- both of them. Education is incomplete if it only enables man to work out elaborate schemes for universal peace but does not teach him how to provide good food for himself and his family. It is equally incomplete and counter-productive if it merely teaches man how to be an efficient tool user and tool maker, but neglects his personality and his relationship with his fellow human beings.[33]

Epistemological Perspectives

In his search for what constituted the nature and the structure of knowledge, Nyerere returned to traditional African sociology of knowledge. In traditional African society thought and action were shaped by natural phenomena which stirred up wonder in the individual's socio-historic environment. The traditional man was concerned primarily with what is, not with what will be. He threw himself into the making of history, here and how. He saw knowledge as that something which opened unto him the consciousness of his historical as well as his existential being. The traditional man realised that truth (knowledge) could only be grasped existentially; so he grounded all his thinking on actual day-to-day events. Knowledge was only available to those who participated with full awareness and with the intensity of their full existence in the course of history. By participating in the daily making of history, the traditional man was able to know the truth of what is. And having known what is, it became less difficult to perceive what ought to be done to change the course of history for a better tomorrow.[34]

Nyerere's emphasis on participatory knowledge was particularly manifested in his effort to bridge the gap between the world and the

knowing mind. In accordance with traditional African point of view, Nyerere contended that the world was one and it existed within the mind. There was no distinction between the material world and the knowing mind. As Robin Horton explains, "what the moderns would call 'mental activities' and 'material things' are both part of a single reality, neither material nor immaterial."[35] There was such an intimate bond between ideas and reality that the traditional man could not conceivably dissociate ideas from reality, or ideas from events. Knowledge was not simply the possession of ideas, but to knowmeant to connect ideas with some real object or life situation; it implied according to John Mbiti, the capacity to transform factual information and make it part of living history.[36]

In the opinion of Nyerere, participatory knowledge in a rapidly changing Tanzanian society demanded that the citizens did not only acquire mere abstract facts, or rely on other people's authority as the source of their knowledge, but that each citizen endeavored to become truly alive to the existential conditions of Tanzania. Each citizen must realise that to know is to be able to make concrete history; it is to be able to act in such a way as to influence the ways of living and acting of the community.[37]

Nyerere believed that all knowledge had its origin in human experiences, especially in human needs. For this reason, knowledge could not be separated from the concrete problems of experience which require solutions. Nyerere's events-oriented philosophical style made it impossible for him to think of knowledge except in terms of some positive action. Nyerere insisted that the Tanzanian school system must provide the type of knowledge which would enable the

pupil to acquire the values of the society he lived in while contributing to its material welfare. There was no need to teach a child the theory of atom-splitting when all indications pointed to the fact that the child might never have to use such knowledge. In order for the school to impart only relevant knowledge, Nyerere contended there ought to be changes in the things we demanded of our schools.

> We should not determine the type of things children are taught in primary schools by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist, or administrator needs to know. Most of our pupils will never be any of these things. We should determine the type of things taught in the primary schools by the things which the boy or girl ought to know -- that is, the skills he ought to acquire and the values he ought to cherish if he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society, and contribute to the improvement of life there. Our sight must be on the majority; it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus. Those most suitable for further education will still become obvious, and they will not suffer. For the purpose is not to provide an inferior education to that given at present. The purpose is to provide a different education -- one realistically designed to fulfil the common purposes of education in the particular society of Tanzania. The same thing must be true at post-primary schools. The object of teaching must be the provision of knowledge, skills and attitudes which will serve the student when he or she lives and works in a developing and changing socialist state; it must not be aimed at university entrance.[38]

Relevant knowledge implied the possession of new ideas and attitudes; it meant producing school graduates who not only would have mastered new theories or new ideas, but who were also in a position to use their new found knowledge, to examine critically the real society in which they lived in order to transform it for the better.

What view did Nyerere hold concerning the nature of the knowing

mind? Before answering this question, it has to be explained that there are two widely held models of the knowing mind, that is, the mechanistic,[39] and the organic.[40] The mechanistic model views the knowing mind as a blank slate or something to be stuffed. The emphasis is on rote memorization and the ability to recall stored-away facts. The pupil is passive while his brain is stuffed full with what Alfred N. Whitehead calls "inert ideas".[41] The organic model, on the other hand, regards the knowing mind as its own spring of activity. The main source of knowledge is human experience, plus the ability to reflect critically, understand and reason on that experience. This way, knowledge becomes something that one does to oneself, not something done to someone, from without.

Nyerere rejected the mechanistic model of the knowing mind. He insisted that mere repetition of already known facts must not be equated with knowledge, because knowledge was supposed to be the invasion of the unknown. Far from being the ability to dutifully recall memorised facts on a given cue, knowledge involved creative thinking, insight and critical appraisal. In an address at the opening ceremony of the university college of Dar es Salaam, Nyerere declared:

> Students must be helped to think scientifically; they must be taught to analyse problems objectively and to apply the facts they have learned, or which they know exist -- to the problems which they will face in the future.[42]

Nyerere believed that what constituted successful "knowledge that"[43] is not the ability to recall mere facts. Knowledge is not something that is fixed; it is the outcome of on-going human experiences and the process of critical inquiry. According to Nyerere, successful

'knowledge that' implied the personal ability to analyse evidence into facts and assumptions and to demand evidence in support of any conclusions.[44] One of the reasons Nyerere wanted to down grade examinations in Tanzanian schools was because, according to him, examinations concentrated on the recall of information instead of the evaluation of the pupil's ability to think constructively and demonstrate his creative potentials.[45]

Nyerere was opposed to any system of transmitting knowledge which was dogmatic or undemocratic. He warned TANU leaders against forcing the TANU creed or Ujamaa ideology down the people's throat. It would be a gross mis-interpretation of our philosophy, Nyerere declared, "to suggest that the educational system should be designed to produce robots, who work hard but never question what the leaders in government or TANU are doing or saying."[46] Nyerere believed that no amount of catechization could bring about the desired goals of Tanzanian socialism. This could only come about through a democratic method of imparting knowledge; a method which afforded the masses of the people the opportunity to understand and internalize whatever philosophy was proposed. Instead of resorting to a dogmatic tactic, Nyerere insisted that rational persuasion must be employed to ally the goals of Ujamaa with the relevant issues in the life and welfare of the masses, while allowing each person to decide freely whether to assimilate the Ujamaa ideology or not. Nyerere reiterated that the principles of Ujamaa must not be the subject of memorization but must pass through the process of assimilation. John Holt throws some light on the distinction Nyerere may have been trying to make between memorising and assimilating the principles of Ujamaa in his remark that when you assimilate

something:

> You have not memorized it, you know it. It is part of your model of the way things are: you could no more "forget" it than you could forget that if you drop your shoe, it will fall to the floor, not rise to the ceiling.[47]

To summarise, it could be said that Nyerere believed that the basis of objectivity depended, in the final analysis, on a consensus agreement reached by the people of Tanzania on the ground of constant thinking, verification and refutation of all policies and philosophies presented to them. The free and intelligent citizens of Tanzania (that is, all the citizens) must have the opportunity to judge social issues for themselves. According to Nyerere:

> There neither is nor will be a political 'holy book' which purports to give all the answers to all the social, political and economic problems which will face our country in the future. There will be philosophies and policies approved by our society which citizens should consider and apply in the light of their own thinking and experience. But the educational system of Tanzania would not be serving the interests of a democratic socialist society if it tried to stop people from thinking about the teachings policies or the beliefs of leaders, either past or present. Only free people conscious of their worth and their equality can build a free society.[48]

There is no doubt that Nyerere has very consistently expressed his thought concerning the nature of the knowing mind. However, contradictions arouse in translating his theory of knowledge into practice. In theory Nyerere rejects the mechanistic model of the knowing mind, but in the actual practice of education in Tanzania, as M. Mbilinyi points out:

> Rote memory learning is relied upon: partly because of the lack of teaching materials and textbooks... partly because of the effect of examinations on both teachers and students.[49]

The role of examinations as a means of assessing a pupil's progress continues to create problems for Nyerere's egalitarian education policy. Nyerere would prefer not to have examinations for two primary reasons. The first of these is that examinations create competitiveness instead of cooperation in the students. Selection for each post-primary education level in Tanzania continues to depend on examination performance where one student has to compete against others. There is a state-wide external examination at the end of the compulsory school - leaving age, which is used as a screening device for many types of occupation.[50] In a classroom situation where students are ranked on the basis of terminal examinations, there is bound to arise a certain measure of unhealthy rivalry. According to Mbilinyi:

> If placed in a competitive situation, where students are ranked on a weekly and team basis according to who does "best", if one's rank objectively depends on doing better than others on an individual basis, then it is objectively necessary for that person to behave in a competitive way. Competitive behavior leads to competitive persons not cooperative persons."[51]

The second reason Nyerere would prefer to down-grade examinations is because, according to him, examinations concentrate on recall of stored information. Ideally, the student comes to school to learn to think constructively and to expand his creative potentials. Nyerere is convinced that memorization and last minute cramming with the accompanying anxiety and tension that go with examinations are really not that productive. However, the fact remains that in practice Tanzanian teachers have continued to be controlled more by examination content than by syllabi outline.[52]

In order to bridge the gap between theory and practice, Nyerere

needs to set up a special inquiry into the whole question of the use and value of terminal examinations at the primary and secondary school levels. Perhaps the solution may be for each school to provide an accurate profile of each student by means of a carefully weighted state-wide scoring system supported by teachers', TANU leaders' and other community leaders' references as a way of awarding credentials to young people who are going either to higher educational institutions or joining the labour force.[53] Until Nyerere succeeds in providing a practical alterantive to examinations, he must live with them as necessary evils in Tanzanian education.

Towards a Philosophy of the Curriculum:

Many writers in the field of curriculum development seem unanimous in affirming the necessity of providing an adequate curriculum for schools, especially at the primary and secondary school level. An adequate curriculum is designed to provide the pupils with a selection of the best of society's reconstructed common experiences. It presents to the consciousness of the young pupils the best of society's culture, values and achievements, with the hope that through this presentation each pupil would gradually develop a fuller perception of the collective life and achievements of his society.[54] There is a parallel between the thought of Nyerere and the suggestion of Hirst and Peters, in Logic of Education,[55] that an adequate curriculum ought to provide the pupil with an overall guidance for his personal development, while at the same time initiating him into the acceptable consensus of what is regarded as valuable for social competence in his society. Nyerere's philosophy of the curriculum is best described within two dimensions: (a) the historical and (b) the political dimension.

(a) The concept of the curriculum assumed a historical dimension in Nyerere's educational thought as he tried to link curriculum development with the past and present history of Tanzania. In the past, the colonial administration imposed a curriculum which was calculated to wean the youth of Tanzania from his natural environment. In the words of Nyerere, the colonial curriculum imposed on the African depersonalizing "value systems and the habit of submitting to circumstances which reduce his dignity as if they were immutable."[56] In order to reverse this situation, the primary objective of Nyerere's new curriculum was to liberate the Tanzanians from the depersonalizing structures of economic life under colonial imperialism. These were structures which made the African unfree to either truly be himself or to fully integrate himself into his society. In a very important statement on future educational objectives in AFrica, Nyerere declared that the curriculum must be geared to the liberation of the African "from the shackles of technical ignorance so that he can make and use tools of organization and creation for the development of himself and his fellow men."[57]

Whereas the colonial educators thought of the curriculum as something that was static, Nyerere's notion took account of the ever changing needs of man and society. For the colonial masters, the curriculum was like the clay in the hands of the artist (teacher), to mold his material (pupil) into a Black-European.[58] Nyerere disagreed with the static image of the African school child represented in the clay-artist anology. He argued that whereas the clay which the artist used to mold his ideal into a piece of art form was an inert mass, the school pupil was not inert but the centre of change and activities. A curriculum has to do with human history and human

experience. As such, it is a process, not an end in itself. The impression that Nyerere leaves with his readers is that the curriculum is a never-ending process of identifying, planning, evaluating and re-evaluating the on-going phenomenon of human experiences.

Tanzania, under the enlightened leadership of Nyerere, is stirring into a new consciousness. Having cut loose the fetters of socio-economic and edcuational imperialism, the people of Tanzania are marching into the history of conscious humanity. To meet the challenges of today, it is imperative that the Tanzanian school curricula move with the changing times. Very unfortunately, according to Mwalimu Nyerere:

> We have been too timid ... to effect the required radical transformation of the system we inherited ... because we are still mentally committed to 'international standards' in education. We still apparently believe that a Tanzanian is not educated unless his education takes a form recognizable by, and acceptable to, other countries -- and in particular the English speaking countries. It is from others that we see our certificates of respectability.[59]

In ESR, Nyerere presented the broad outline of a curriculum which did not only depart from the colonial value systems, but which endeavoured to reconstruct the traditional African "attitude of mind". In order to speed the progress of Tanzania, the new curriculum was supposed to prepare every school pupil to cope with the conflicts of life, especially at the rural level, by developing new methods of teaching and learning. Instead of clinging onto the past in the name of maintaining 'international standards' Nyerere suggested a curriculum which would enable the pupil to have "an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtained."[60]

(b) Nyerere was very much aware of the powerful influence the curriculum can have in shaping the pupil's view point towards various socio-political activities, and in defining his attitudes toward social values in general. He was therefore determined to create in the Tanzanian school pupil, attitudes and standards which were in accordance with the Ujamaa ideology, through the establishment of a dynamic curriculum. President Nyerere had no doubt that it was whatever society puts into the school curriculum that eventually came out as national ideals and national achievements.

The ultimate objective of Nyerere's political education was to produce a new socialist man; a true m-jamaa (socialist) who does not exploit his fellow man; who is imbued with the spirit of self-reliance and committed to selfless service to the community. Koghoma A. Malima, in an article entitled: "Political Education in Tanzania,"[61] describes how Nyerere hoped to achieve the objectives of Ujamaa through a reformed political education. Nyerere's aim was to lay the foundation of democratic socialism so that as early in life as possible the Tanzanian school pupils would be "able to think for themselves, to make judgments on all the issues affecting them and be able to interpret the decisions made through the democratic institutions of our society."[62]

The Role of the Teacher:

To carry out the high aspirations of Nyerere's socialist state requires a teaching cadre that is clear about the kind of society he wants to build, and is committed to helping in the task of building such a society. Nyerere believed, without any doubt whatsoever, that the most powerful influence in revolutionizing the Tanzanian society through education was ultimately in making teachers the primary animators of the community.

To be a teacher, observed Nyerere, is one of the most "powerful"[63] vocations in life. In the words of Frederick Mayer, the vocation of a teacher is not meant for everybody, but for those who possess "the feelings, motives, drives, response, recognition and cooperation",

which are very fundamental aspects of the vocation of a teacher.[64] If "education must be for liberation",[65] in Nyerere's opinion, the teacher possessed the "power" to nourish and stimulate the attitudes of mind which could bring about this revolution. In an eloquent speech about the "power" of the teacher Nyerere declared:

> From our traditional African society we inherit concepts of equality, democracy and socialism as well as economic backwardness. From the colonial period we inherit concepts of arrogant individualism and competition as well as knowledge about technical progress. It is our teachers who have the real power to determine whether Tanzania will succeed in modernizing the economy without losing the attitudes which allowed every human being to maintain his self-respect, and earn the respect of his fellows while working in harmony with them.[66]

Nyerere lamented the fact that not many Tanzanian youth wanted to be teachers. The reason was not because Tanzania lacked young men and women who possessed the teaching aptitudes referred to by Frederick Mayer, but it was rather on account of the false notion that "teachers do not have any power". Nyerere called this false assumption "one of the biggest fallacies of our society."[67] Perhaps second to the family environment, he suggested, the teacher possessed the greatest power on earth to shape the minds of our young generations.

If education within the Tanzanian context was to inspire self-confidence, then the teacher must be confident of himself, he must be able to trust his own best judgments and be a leader both in words and in actions. The success of the teacher in producing a proud and self-reliant generation of Tanzanian citizens, Nyerere theorized, depended to a very large extent on the willingness of the teacher to abandon many of the old habits of thought and approaches to teaching

which he inherited from the colonial past.[68] Nyerere disagreed with the school of thought represented by Edmund J. King, who defined the role of the teacher as that of a conservator of the status quo; according to this point of view, the teacher had no influence in regard to social change.[69] On the contrary, Nyerere argued the teacher's place was in the thick of the battle for social reform.

At the age of six or seven, when the child first comes to school, Nyerere did not think that the child ought to be left to his own unguided spontaneity. Guidance was important at this crucial stage to develop the powers and interests of the child. A very important role of the primary school teacher was to act as the medium of suitable experiences, supplying the pupil with the right conditions which were requisite to increasing and leading the pupil's own experiences and thought to maturity. According to Nyerere, even at the tender age of six or seven, most children would have already developed some character traits and absorbed some ideas through life in the family.[70] Beginning with the personal experiences of the children, the teacher was to guide the children in their search for the "ideas of what is good and what is bad in non-family situations."[71]

The mind of the primary school child was still very flexible and could be turned in any one of many different directions. The people who had the opportunity to shape these young minds, who had that power, affirmed Nyerere, were the teachers in our schools.[72] What Nyerere implied by the phrase "shaping infant minds" was the process of moving the chidren's mind towards a new way of thinking, into the discovery of new ideas. It meant guiding the children until they arrived at a mature and more critical understanding of their existential reality.

By drawing the attention of his pupil to facts and ideas which were unclear and problematic, the teacher was to help in shaping his pupil's critical awareness.

The essential role of the teacher was to instruct and to motivate the pupil. The teacher, according to Nyerere, was to provide his pupil with the factual information which would enable the pupil to develop a sense of personal worth and achievement. Adequate instruction was to be directed towards the development of the pupil's sensitivity, in such a way that his power to perceive, understand and pass intelligent judgment on any factual information would be greatly enhanced.

Nyerere did not in any of his writings attempt a philosophical exposition of the concept of instruction or teaching.[73] Nevertheless, a study of his numerous writings and speeches on the theme of education reveal his notion of the concept of teaching. It is clear from these sources that Nyerere regarded teaching as an intentional learning process which stressed intelligent reaction, critical thinking and creativity. He thought that teaching was characterized by its special connection with rational explanation and critical dialogue; with the enterprise of giving honest reasons and welcoming radical questions.[74] Nyerere believed that teaching ought to be democratic; it ought to imply respect for persons and the transmission of knowledge which appealed to the free rational and critical judgment of the learner. In the opinion of Nyerere, teaching ought to confront the pupil with some real problem, line of thought or action. The teacher may even contrive in his teaching method to throw usually surmountable obstacles in the way of the pupil. By this device, Nyerere theorized,

the teacher was best able to help the pupil to develop the habit of evaluating and using data intelligently, while also motivating the pupil to back his beliefs with appropriate and sufficient means. This method of teaching which could be described as a problem-posing method, was compatible with teacher-learner participation in all phases and aspects of the educative process. It also exemplified Nyerere's theoretical assumption that no teacher was so knowledgeable that he could not sometimes learn from the pupil or the illiterate farmer.[75]

The practising teacher, Nyerere argued, cannot afford to be value-neutral. His teaching must be reflected in his value judgments and critical standards. In teaching, according to Nyerere, the teacher commits himself substantively to whatever values and beliefs he assigns to his pupils. It is therefore very important that the teacher realizes the necessity of rational persuasive arguments to support such values and beliefs. Rational persuasion, Nyerere contended must play an important role in teaching. Without it, the dignity and intellectual integrity of the pupil was liable to be violated. Although Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa called for the cultivation of the socialist attitude of mind and implied a specific way of life, yet, in his policy statements, he cautioned that only rational persuasion may be used to teach the principles of Ujamaa.[76]

To summarize, Nyerere believed that a good teacher was one whose success could be measured in terms of how well he had been able to awaken in his pupil curiosity in the real world around him, and how persuasively he had been able to motivate in his pupil a genuine sense of belongingness and participation in the socialist aspirations of Tanzania. And since Nyerere also believed that "actions speak

louder than words," he argued that the good teacher must teach by being. He must not only teach, he must also do as he teaches. In Nyerere's words:

> The man who treats everyone with respect, who discusses his position clearly, rationally and courteously with everyone whatever their position - that teacher is inculcating a spirit of equality, of friendship and of mutual respect. And he is teaching by being - which is the most effective teaching technique existing.[77]

In practice, many Tanzanian teachers, especially at the primary level, lack the critical thinking, self-confidence and cooperative attitudes they are supposed to generate in their students. They do not have a good understanding of the Ujamaa ideology neither do they possess the initiative and incentive to inspire Ujamaa values. One of the reasons for the poor performance of the teachers is that they are inadequately educated and not qualified to provide either leadership or to impart practical instruction.[78] Another reason is that teachers are alienated both from their superiors and from their students.

> They teach curricula which they do not design; and teach for examinations which they do not set. Teachers and their heads carry out directives from above, in a pattern of work relationship not unlike that between teacher and student.[79]

Many teachers understand "self-reliance activities" in the narrow sense of operating a school farm. They think the only time they are practising education for self-reliance is on "shamba days".[80] These are the days of the week the students are engaged in productive activities. There persists the separation of bookish education from its practical and productive content.[81] In addition, relationships of

dominance and submission have persisted despite the objective clearly stated in ESR that the school should be organized in a democratic way with students and teachers making the final decisions about production and other school activities. According to M. Mblinyi, teachers supervise "self-reliance activities" with stick in hand instead of a hoe.

> In most schools, teachers do not themselves join students in productive or manual labour. The most they do is to supervise students' work. Nor do students in most of the schools have control over major decisions about what to produce and the distribution of proceeds....The contradictory nature of school productive activities has led students and parents in (some) schools to complain that students are being exploited by teachers.[82]

In ESR Nyerere sets very high goals for teachers in Tanzania. Like many of his policies which cannot be faulted at the theoretical level, it is very difficult for Tanzania to produce teachers that satisfy Nyerere's aspirations. It does seem that the introduction of Universal Primary Education in 1977 has further lengthened the day when Tanzania can boast of adequately educated teachers.

Vocational Versus Liberal Education:

One of the major objectives of Nyerere's curriculum reform was to try to bridge the gap between mental and manual work in education. Before the publication of Education for Self-Reliance, the notion

prevailed in Tanzania that a liberal education was superior to any form of vocational education. In fact, it was not uncommon for pupils and parents alike to call the one, 'education' and the other 'training'; thus there were colleges where liberal education was acquired different from the technical training schools, where the emphasis was on mere training.[83] The sole aim of liberal education was the development of the pupils' intellect through the study of purely academic courses. Vocational education, on the other hand, provided training in some practical skill. In Tanzania, it was thought that vocational education was meant for the Africans, or the masses of the labouring people, who were destined to serve the educated elite.

In chapter three while discussing Nyerere's work ethic,[84] it was pointed out how the dualism which nurtured the opposition of work versus the pursuit of education for its own sake could be traced to the colonial masters and through them to the influence of Greek philosophy. In Tanzania any type of technical skill or training which involved physical energy and assiduity of practice was generally looked down upon by the people. As Mwalimu Nyerere puts it, "our present system encourages school pupils in the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books."[85] Nyerere seriously questioned the wisdom of continuing to give undue priority to "bookish knowledge" as represented in the liberal education Tanzania inherited. Such a type of priority, the Mwalimu commented, has given rise to general indifference to the plight of the labouring masses and has generated false pretensions and self deceptions in the youth. At present Nyerere writes:

> Our pupils learn to despise even their own parents because they are old-fashioned and

> ignorant; there is nothing in our existing educational system which suggests to the pupil that he can learn important things about farming from his elders. The result is that he absorbs beliefs about witchcraft before he goes to school, but does not learn the properties of local grasses; he absorbs the taboos from his family but does not learn the methods of making nutritious traditional foods. And from school he acquires knowledge unrelated to agricultural life. He gets the worst of both systems![86]

Nyerere believed that knowledge can never attain vividness and reality so long as it was purely academic or cut-off from the concrete social context of finding solutions for poverty, hunger, unemployment and so on. Practical work, according to Nyerere, was not to be divorced from academic knowledge, rather it ought to be a primary manifestation of intelligence.[87] Tanzania cannot afford the luruxy of isolating scholarship from the work which was vital to the welfare of the masses of rural Tanzanians. In a developing country such as Tanzania, there was a high demand for different kinds of skills, which require different individual training. What was important, Nyerere stressed, was that all the citizens of Tanzania, no matter the level of their academic qualifications, cultivate the attitude of "giving service and expecting service".[88] The pervading atmosphere should be one of work and social responsibility. Whether one man has a university degree, another a vocational school diploma and another an illiterate farmer, what Nyerere expected of all Tanzanians was:

> An attitude of wanting to work, in whatever work there was to do, alongside and within the rest of the community, until finally there is no more distinction between a graduate and an illiterate than there is between a man who works as a carpenter and his fellow who works as a brickmaker. Graduates and illiterates would then accept their tasks as distinctive, and as making different demands on them, but as being

in both cases a part of a single whole.[89]

Nyerere contended that work activities were very important in education because they not only initiated the school pupil into the art of putting theory into practice, but they also provided the pupil with the opportunity to engage in some form of cooperative activity (for example, the school farm), which promoted the Ujamaa ideology. In stressing the educative value of practical work, Nyerere unknowingly echoed the sentiments of one of the less known German philosophers of education, Georg Kerschensteiner, who at the turn of this century wrote:

> It is unimportant where work disciplines a man, whether at the study desk or at the easel, at the bench or at the loom, out in the fields or in the workshop, working in manufacture or in the service of practical charity. For there is one thing common to all upright, serious work, namely, that it exercises the powers of will, on which are based the most important civic virtues -- diligence, care, conscientiousness, perserverance, attention, honesty, patience, self-control and devotion to a firm disinterested aim.[90]

There can be no knowing without doing. Nyerere dismissed any type of knowledge that did not lead to action as useless given the socio-economic underdevelopment of rural Tanzania. By emphasizing vocational education, Nyerere's message to the youth of Tanzania was that no true education can be attained except through work.[91] If education must lead to "self-reliance"[92] it had to achieve trade efficiency, skill development and stimulate the desire to engage in creative work. In other words, education for "self-reliance" must, in Nyerere's words, "turn out men who have the technical knowledge and ability to expand the economy for the benefit of man in society."[93]

Nyerere is not less successful than other education policy workers in most countries in coping with the liberal education versus career preparation dilemma. Indeed, he is probably performing better than many others. In an effort to de-emphasize the concentration on intellectual training, the Tanzanian educational policy has become, in theory, weighted towards vocational training. One obvious risk of over-emphasis on vocational skills is that general education is being neglected. At least at the primary school level the curriculum does not cater for a broad range of intellectual abilities and a variety of individual aspirations. For example, the direction of change is reflected in the new aims of primary education in Tanzania. Upon completion of primary school, the pupil should:

= have attained permanent functional literacy in Swahili;

= have had practical experience in poultry farming, vegetable growing, maintenance of simple farm tools, and repair of domestic furniture;

= the pupil should be able to prepare and maintain simple domestic and farm accounts;

= finally, the pupil should have internalized to a large extent, the ujamaa social goals, especially that of living together as equals and working together to build a nation where no one is oppressed.[94]

Although "The Musome Resolutions" emphasized the need for incorporation of science and technology into all levels of the school system, in practice however, this is not the case. The basic skills curriculum of primary education does not provide for organization of this kind of knowledge as well as the skills of critical and creative thinking. According to M. Mblinyi, "Mass education (primary and adult education)

remains basically oriented toward reading, writing, numeracy and vocational manual skills separated from their content".[95] Nyerere's efforts to unite mental and manual work in education, especially as objectified in the school shamba, have suffered considerable setbacks.[96] Although nearly all primary and secondary schools engage in productive activities (especially farming) in general, "self-reliance activites" are isolated from academic course work in the timetable, and are not designed to promote meaningful learning experiences.

Theories and Realities

There are a number of problems arising from Nyerere's educational philosophy. Some of these problems are theoretical while others are practical. Among the theoretical problems are: (a) the principle of equality and (b) the indoctrination versus pa-ticipative education.

(a) Although the ghost of egalitarianism stalks Nyerere's theory of education, the fact is that, in practice, there are many socio-economic obstacles to equal education.[97] Nyerere has been known to declare that education is like a birth right which must not be denied to any citizen of Tanzania.

In Tanzania, as is true of most developing nations, education is regarded primarily as an investment of scarce capital in human resources, and as such, it is crucially important that the returns from this investment be maximized. In order for all the school age children in Tanzania to benefit from a universal and free primary education

program, more capital investment will have to be made in education. Nyerere has himself admitted that Tanzania cannot afford to increase the proportion of the country's wealth being invested in education. The proportion of the national income which is spent on education, according to Nyerere, "ought to be decreased."[98] In order to give every school age Tanzanian at least a primary education, new school facilities are required. But the provision of such facilities depends on increased national production, which in turn, depends to a large extent on educational development. So Nyerere is caught in a great vicious circle created by the lack of money or lack of increase in national economic development.

Education, whether in a capitalist or socialist society, tends to sort people occupationally, economically and socially. This sorting results in the formation of different class structures. In Tanzania, the primary school leavers are in a class of their own; so are the secondary and technical school graduates, the University graduates and other professionals. Of course, the illiterate farm peasantry form a class at the bottom of the line. Each of the classes mentioned above commands a different level of public esteem and prestige in the community. Those with more education are held in higher esteem. In an article on "Tanzanian Political Leadership", P. J. McGowan has observed that:

> Under normal conditions, educational achievement is related to prestige or status... There are major difficulties in attempting to separate the status or prestige associated with either formal education or occupation... This is especially true of post-colonial societies... We believe that recruitment in Tanzania will continue to favor education or occupational prestige.[99]

Apart from bestowing prestige or status, education in Tanzania is still very much tied to a salary structure.[100] Hence differences in monetary rewards have resulted in differences in life styles and standard of living. By virtue of the different types of jobs which must be filled, it is obvious that not every citizen of Tanzania has the same opportunity or the same talent to contribute equally to the socio-economic growth of the nation. In Tanzania, as in most other countries, it is one of the functions of education to allocate people among the various jobs in an increasingly differentiated occupational structure. Nyerere publicly accepted the notion that equality had to be sacrificed drastically in order to produce the high level manpower necessary for development.[101] Given the limited resources of Tanzania, it becomes very important to have different minimum amounts of types of formal schooling for various job functions. For example, Nyerere argued that the Ujamaa young farmer did not require the same number of years of schooling as a doctor would. This approach, however, tends to make even worse the problem of the underlying mechanisms which are responsible for inequalities in income distribution. The fact of the matter is that those with extended schooling are held to be both more desirable and have more financially rewarding jobs.[102] The major problem in educational practice as Nyerere himself had acknowledged, was how to prevent the system which will continue to offer places to less than all the school age children in the country from perpetuating an elite society in which the rewards go to those who have been fortunate enough and academically clever enough to go through primary school and secondary school.[103]

In practice there continues to be inequality in access to education

in Tanzania. According to Joel Samoff:

> At least since the beginning of this century, access to education has been the promixate determinant of class differentiation in Tanzania and in much of Africa. Despite several initiatives to overcome this legacy of European rule, perhaps more sharply focused in Tanzania than in many other African countries, education and class situation continue to be firmly linked.[104]

M. Mbilinyi agrees with the above opinion in stressing that "access to the schooling system has not been equal in Tanzania at any level."[105] The children of the educated stratum continue to have overwhelming advantages over the poor and the peasants.[106]

Nyerere has yet to succeed in devising a uniquely Tanzanian educational system which would function as a selective device for the allocation of roles and at the same time not confer special status or privileges on those selected for the more demanding and highly skilled positions. Nyerere's doctrine that character, cooperativeness and a desire to serve are as relevant to a person's ability to benefit from society as his academic degrees, is slow to take root in Tanzania. This is all the more so on account of the continuing use of monetary reward as a major return for people's services. Perhaps the greatest challenge facing Ujamaa and Nyerere's egalitarian dream, is the awareness by many Tanzanian children and their parents of the disparity in rewards between those working in the land and those who have paid jobs. There will always remain the tension between the allocative and the egalitarian functions of education, so long as the average Tanzanian parent believes that academic excellence marks out his child as deserving of a privileged status in society.

A major obstacle to reform along more egalitarian lines is

the understandable concern of parents that their children acquire the type of education that will lead to better jobs. Despite Nyerere's efforts "to alter the colonial definition of schooling shared by rich and poor workers and petty bourgeoisie the definition necessarily persists".[107] This is perhaps the main reason why Nyerere's concept of the "Community Education Centres",[108] designed to stimulate mass education is creating some problems. The Kwamsisi-Korogwe community school will be used to illustrate some of these problems.

The villagers in Kwamsisi-Korogwe community were consulted about the type of education they wanted for their children. Because this was a predominantly agricultural community, the villagers opted for an education which would increase their cash crops, and thereby enhance their standard of living. The parents and teachers then proceeded to draw up an appropriate curriculum and thus, the Kwamsisi-Korogwe community school was established. The set-up of the school was such that there were no specially designated teachers. While the professional teachers acted as resource persons, the parents taught their children local history, traditional arts and crafts, the children taught their parents reading, writing and arithmetic; together teachers parents and children learned better methods of farming. Everyone contributed his or her best as the school and community worked in tandem to meet and improve the needs of the people of Kwamsisi-Korogwe.[109]

Even though the Kwamsisi-Korogwe Community School experiment had been as innovative as it had been successful, it also threatened to be socially discriminatory. The school curriculum was local and the standard of instruction was below the national average. Given the central importance of competitive entrance examination of an academic

nature in the criteria for admission to all tertiary institutions, the graduates of Kwamsisi-Korogwe have had little or no change of acquiring a secondary education. In a country where, in the words of M. Mbilinyi, "educational qualifications determine entry to the top of the occupational hierarchy,"[110] this experiment is open to the accusation of foreclosing the options of the youth of Kwamsisi-Korogwe. On account of the lack of emphasis on academic subjects, the community of Kwamsisi-Korogwe may never be able to produce its own doctors, or lawyers or engineers. On the other hand, some communities like the Chagga and Haya, who don't want anything to do with the community school experiments, have produced and continue to produce the greatest number of intellectual leaders and professional experts for Tanzania.[111]

Nyerere's theory of education in relation to social equality thus suffers from a measure of inconsistency in the face of an educational system (like Kwamsisi-Korogwe) which is designed, no matter how unintentionally, to keep a large number of rural Tanzanians occupied with increasingly less rewarding patterns of life. In spite of his good intentions, Nyerere's educational reform from the ideological point of view, may inevitably remain elitist for many more years to come. On account of scarce investment capital, not all school age children are able to attend primary school. Then again, the vast majority of those attending primary school cannot hope to get any further than a primary school diploma. Out of the lucky few who complete their secondary school, only a handful can gain admission into the university. For now, it is obvious that Nyerere is not able to attain his ideal of equality of access to education for all citizens of Tanzania.[112]

(b)

In order to create the appropriate atmosphere for participative education (as opposed to indoctrination) it is first of all, necessary to remove institutional inflexibilities and rigid practices. In spite of the bold initiative taken in 1974,[113] there persists a number of undemocratic and rigid practices in the Tanzanian educational system. As M. Mbilinyi observes:

> In a situation of domination and subordination, where democratic procedures of policy-making and lesson evaluation are not followed, self-confident citizens capable of making their own decisions and unafraid to criticise leadership when it has erred will not be produced."[114]

The educational establishment in Tanzania is run in bureaucratic fashion with TANU policy makers and senior civil servants in the Ministry of Education at the top, while teachers and students remain powerless at the bottom.[115]

There continues to be the problem of over-centralization of curriculum design and the supply of new instructional materials. As M. Mbilinyi points out, the way to create and enrich meaningful school curricula in Tanzania can only be through social practice, involving progressive teachers, students, peasants and other progressive forces in its evaluation and redesign.[116] In practice, however, it does seem that Nyerere and his TANU executives have not only sought to provide an established framework of educational values and ideals, but have set definite goals and indicated what ought to be and what ought not to be in the Tanzanian school curriculum.[117]

At the very heart of the educative process, as Nyerere himself concedes, is the formation and promotion of critical consciousness and rational autonomy. However, some philosophers of education have argued that the "courtyard of reason must be entered by the doorway of habit".[118] What this means is that children must first acquire a firm foundation of the established basic truths or norms of the society in which they live. Then as they grow up and become more intellectually mature, they will gradually come to grasp in more explicit way the fundamental principles which provided the backing for the truths which have already been inculcated into them.[119] Julius Nyerere's philosophy of the curriculum seems to have been influenced by the above view point.[120] In ESR Nyerere left no doubt that the purpose of Tanzanian education was to transmit knowledge on the basis of apriori truths or norms. The Tanzanian school children had to be taught Ujamaa values and principles; values and principles which they were, at the primary school level, in no position to test. A situation such as this creates a paradox whereby the curriculum and the procedure used to achieve education, seem to defeat the primary objective of education which is the promotion of critical thinking and rational autonomy. M. Mblinyi has noted how both a coercive and a repressive ideological apparatus are relied upon to increase social control.

> A high degree of coercion is found within the so-called ideological apparatuses of schooling for example, caning of students as the predominant mode of control... the emphasis on student discipline and punishment of student resistance to the hierarchical authoritarian structure of the school (especially at secondary school level) by emphasis from the National School System.[121]

The aim of Nyerere's revised school curriculum, no matter how unpretentious his intention may seem to be, is to make the Tanzanian youth adopt the Ujamaa way of life. This by itself may not necessarily constitute indoctrination. But in conjunction with M. Mblinyi's

evidence of the actual practice of certain coercive methods to inculcate social values, Nyerere is open to the accusation of indoctrination. It is well to point out, however, the lack of agreement about what constitutes indoctrination.

Many analytic philosophers have made claims and counter claims about what constitutes indoctrination. Today there is no agreement in sight. The statement is over the search for the necessary and sufficient conditions for indoctrination. The crucial test of indoctrination is located in a number of controversial criteria, the four most important of which are: the content criterion,[122] the method criterion,[123] the intention criterion,[124] and the consequence criterion.[125] As the root word suggests, indoctrination is the implanting of doctrines or beliefs of a certain sort. Anthony Flew has described indoctrination in two senses:

> In the primary sense, we have suggested indoctrination, where it is taken to be a bad thing, is a matter of trying to implant firm convictions of the truth of doctrines which are in fact either false or at least not known to be true... In the secondary sense, indoctrination would be a matter of trying, in any sphere whatever, to implant beliefs, even those which are true and known to be true, by certain disfavoured methods.[126]

Some critics have suggested that the Tanzanian curriculum does not provide the school children with sufficient variety or knowledge of competing ideologies to enable them to freely consider, even if only to reject, any other social creeds or philosophy of life.[127] The teaching methods, the curriculum and the organization of school and classroom prevalent in many primary and secondary schools are diametrically opposed to the objectives of developing creativity and critical thinking. The continuing use of the cane is symbolic of the authority relations in the school and classroom. But above all, the lack of feedback from the classrooms to the curriculum developer not only frustrates teachers, but it also removes the chance for creative curriculum development through practice.[128]

Perhaps the single most important source of contradiction in Nyerere's theory of participative education lies in the misrepresentation of the concept of teaching. In theory Nyerere argues that teaching is open-ended and democratic. In the teaching process, both the students and their teachers participate in the process of thinking and decision making. Of even more importance is the suggestion that in a democratic teaching process, each and every pertinent view on a given subject ought to be given an equal opportunity to be expressed and evaluated. Unfortunately, the particular genius of Nyerere has limited the input from the citizens of Tanzania. Very often there are no alternatives to the ideas of the Mwalimu; neither are the ideas of the philosopher-president very often subjected to objective criticism. So it does seem that whereas in theory, Nyerere would want education to be democratic, in practice however, Nyerere's educational objective is calculated to make the youth of Tanzania imbibe the Ujamaa way of thinking, acting and living.

Some of the practical problems connected with Nyerere's philosophy of education are commented on in different sections of this thesis.[129] It has to be observed here that despite Nyerere's attempt to make primary education in Tanzania terminal education or a self-sufficient education for living, primary schools in Tanzania (especially the private schools) remain geared to tertiary entrance.[130] And at the secondary school level the curriculum, despite formal appearances to the contrary, is excessively dominated by bookish education separated from its practical and productive content. This is true because of the still severe competition for entry to colleges of education and the university.

Nyerere is confronted with the dilemma of reconciling the competency claims of broad educational aims with preparation for working life. If he continues to concentrate upon preparing the village youth, at the primary school level, for the labour market, he is open to the charge of foreclosing the rural youth's options to proceed to secondary school, or even, the university. At the same time, there is no doubt that if the revolution through education is to materialize, there is need to provide the rural school pupils with practical orientation towards agriculture, home economics, commerce and other practical subjects.

ESR is a blue print of the fundamental change in the approach to education which is required by Nyerere's determination to make Tanzania a socialist state. In ESR Nyerere provides the theoretical concepts and ideas which constitute the basic attitudes and values which education ought to generate. He tries to ally schooling to the legitimate hopes and aspirations of his people to attain self-reliance in all aspects of life. The new school curriculum which Nyerere proposes is geared to shaping the attitudes, involvement and committment of the youth of Tanzania with a consistent ideological direction. However, there are contradictions between the theory and practice of education in Tanzania. It is the opinion of the author of this thesis, nevertheless, that although the obstacles presented by these contradictions may be daunting, yet it may well be that only time can show the real possibilities and limitations of the power of Nyerere's ideas as an autonomous element in the total situation of Tanzania.

NOTES

CHAPTER SIX

1. See, Tanzanian First Development Plan (1964) op. cit.

2. J.K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1967). Also see: Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism (London: Oxford University Press 1974), pp. 44-75.

3. See, Arthur Gillette, Unesco Publication (1972), op. cit., p. 19.

4. J.K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, see Ujamma: Essays on Socialism, op. cit., p. 74.

5. J.K. Nyerere, ibid., p. 52.

6. Ibid.

7. For different views of what philosophy of education is, see: Christopher Lucas, What is Philosophy of Education. (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1969).

8. Otto Krash, "How do Philosophers know What They are Doing", see What is Philosophy of Education, op. cit., p. 150.

9. Isreal Scheffler, The Language of Education. (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas 1960), p. 72.

10. J.K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, See Ujamaa Essays on Socialism, op. cit., p. 44.

11. Ibid., p. 74.

12. Ibid., p. 60.

13. Ibid., p. 44.

14. Ibid., p. 47.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., p. 61.

17 Ibid, p. 60.

[18] Maurice Friedman. "The Existential Man: Buber" in The Educated Man, op. cit., p. 381.

[19] See, Nyerere: The Purpose Is Man. Op. cit.

[20] C.S. Lewis. The Abolition of Man. New York: Macmillan, 1947, p. 72.

[21] J.K. Nyerere. "Our Education Must be for Liberation", op. cit., p. 5.

[22] Sidney Hook (ed.). Determinism and Freedom in the Age of Modern Science. New York: Macmillan, 1961.

[23] Perry London. Behavior Control. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

[24] Max Born. Natural Philosophy of Cause and Chance. New York: Dover Publications, 1964, p. 3.

[25] Victor Frankl. "Values and Psychotheraphy". American Journal of Psychotheraphy, Vol. 23, 1969, p. 406.

[26] John Fodor. See Harvard Educational Review, No. 42, August 1972, p. 343.

[27] Nicholas D. Rizzo. "The Significance of Von Bertalanffy for Psychology" in The Relevance of General Systems Theory. New York: George Braziller, 1972, p. 142.

[28] J.D. Okoh. Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis: "Education and African Traditional Values". Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1977, pp. 21-31.

[29] Placide Tempels, Bantu Philosophy. Paris: Presence Africaine, 1959, p. 16.

[30] Ibid, p. 31.

[31] See, William F. Cunningham. The Pivotal Problems of Education. New York: Macmillan, 1940, pp. 267 ff.

[32] J.K. Nyerere. Education for Self-Reliance. Op. cit., p. 51.

[33] J.K. Nyerere. "Our Education Must be for Liberation". Op. cit., p. 4.

[34] See, J.D. Okoh. "Education and African Traditional Values". Op. cit., pp. 24-27. Here I applied the Marxian principle of praxis in my analysis of traditional concept of man. Also see, G. Petrovic. "Man as Economic Animal and Man as Praxis". Inquiry, Vol. 6, 1963.

35. Robin Horton. "African Traditional Thought and Western Science" in Knowledge and Control, edited by M. Young. London: Collier Macmillan, 1971, p. 235.

36. John Mbiti. African Religions and Philosophy. Op. cit., p. 214.

37. Robert July. The Origins of African Thought. New York: Praeger, 1967.

38. J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Self-Reliance". Op. cit., p. 63.

39. For further information see: John Locke. An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Edited by Maurice Cranston. London: Collier Macmillan, 1965, pp. 35-36 ff.

40. Alfred N. Whitehead. The Aims of Education and Other Essays . New York: Macmillan, 1957.

41. Ibid., p. 1.

42. J.K. Nyerere. "The University's Role in the Development of the New Countries". Op. cit., p. 5.

43. J. Hartland-Swann. "The Logical Status of 'Knowing that'". Analysis, XVI, April 1956, pp. 111-115. Also see: Jane Roland. "On the Reduction of 'Knowing That' to Knowing How" in Language and Concepts in Education. Edited by Smith and Ennis. Chicago: Scott and Foreman, 1961, pp. 57-59.

44 J.K. Nyerere. "The University's Role ...". Op. cit., p. 5.

45. J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Self-Reliance". Op. cit., p. 62.

46. Ibid, p. 53.

47. John Holt. How Children Learn. New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1972, p. 132.

48. J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Self-Reliance". Op. cit., p. 53.

49. M. Mbilinyi. "Contradictions in Tanzanian Education Reform". Op. cit., p. 222.

50 M. Mbilinyi. "Peasants Education in Tanzania". Op. cit., p. 191.

51 M. Mbilinyi. "Contradictions in Tanzanian Education Reform". Op. cit., p. 222.

[52] M. Mbilinyi. "Peasants Education in Tanzania". Op. cit., p. 191.

[53] It has to be acknowledged that in accordance with "The Musoma Resolutions" (1974) efforts are being made to involve TANU leaders in student assessment for evaluation and selection. But there is no state-wide scoring system and there is much room for injustice and discrimination in the present efforts.

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[55] R.S. Peters & Paul Hirst, Logic of Education. (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1970).

[56] J.K. Nyerere, "Education and Liberation", Development Dialogue, 2. (1974), p. 47.

[57] J.K. Nyerere, "Our Education Must be for Liberation" Tanzania Educational Journal, op. cit., p. 5.

[58] R.J. Mason, British Education in Africa. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959). Also see: Education for Africans in Tanganyika. (Betty George). Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1960).

[59] J.K. Nyerere, "Our Education Must be for Liberation", op. cit., p. 7.

[60] J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Self-Reliance". Op. cit., p. 52.

[61] Kighoma A. Malima. "Political Education in Tanzania" in Tanzania: Revolution by Education, Op. cit.

[62] J.K. Nyerere. Education for Self-Reliance. Op. cit., p. 53.

[63] J.K. Nyerere. "The Power of Teachers". Op. cit., pp. 223-228.

[64] Frederick Mayer. A History of Educational Thought. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1973, p. 35.

[65] Robert M. Hutchins. Education for Freedom. Baton Rouge: Lousiana State University Press, 1943. Also see, James B. Conant. Education for Liberty. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1953.

[66] J.K. Nyerere. "The Power of Teachers". Op. cit., p. 228.

[67] Ibid, p. 226.

[68] J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Self-Reliance". Op. cit., pp. 50-75.

[69] Edmund J. King. World Perspective in Education. London: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962, p. 41.

[70] J.K. Nyerere. "The Power of Teachers". Op. cit., p. 226.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] For a philosophical exposition of the concept of teaching see: B. Othanel Smith. "A Concept of Teaching" in Language and Concepts in Education, edited by Smith and Ennis. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961. Thomas Green. "A Typology of the Teaching Concept". Studies in Philosophy and Education, Vol. 3, No. 4, Winter 1964. Israel Scheffler. The Language of Education. Op. Cit., chapters 6 and 7.

[74] J.K. Nyerere. "The Power of Teachers". Op. cit.

[75] Ibid., p. 227.

[76] For further study of the concept of "rational persuasion" see: S.I. Benn. "Freedom and Persuasion" in The Australian Journal of Philosophy, 45, December 1967, pp. 266 ff.

[77] J.K. Nyerere. "The Power of Teachers". Op. cit., p. 227.

[78] David R. Morrison. Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case. Op. cit., p. 115.

[79] M. Mbilinyi. "Contradictions in Tanzania Education Reform". Op. cit., p. 221.

[80] See Lionel Cliffe. "Socialist Education in Tanzania". Socialism in Tanzania, Vol. 2. Op. cit., pp. 217-219. Also M. Mbilinyi. "Basic Education: Tool of Exploitation or Liberation?". Prospects, December 1977.

[81] Fred Branfman. "Some Suggestions Concerning the Teaching of Agriculture in the Tanzanian Primary School". Socialism in Tanzania, Vol. 2. Op. cit., p. 262.

82. M. Mbilinyi. "Contradictions in Tanzanian Education Reform". Op. cit., p. 222.

83. For the distinction between "Education" and "Training" see, R.S. Peters. "Aims of Education: A conceptual inquiry" in Philosophy of Education Proceedings of International Seminar. Toronto: March, 1966, pp. 1-15. Also see, R.S. Peters, "What is an Education Process" in The Concepts of Education, London: Routledge, 1967, pp. 1-23.

84. See, "Work Ethic". Ibid, Chapter 3.

85. J.K. Nyerere. "Education for Reliance". Op. cit., p. 56.

86. Ibid, p. 58.

87. Edmund J. King. Communist Education. New York: MacMillan, 1963, pp. 78-96.

88. J.K. Nyerere. "The University's Role in the Development of the New Countries". Studies in Tanzanian Education, Dar es Salaam: Institute of Education, March 1970, Study 1; p. 7.

89. Ibid; It is possible Nyerere's thinking may have been influenced by Chairman Moa of China.

90. Georg Kerschensteiner: His Thought and Its Relevance Today, by Diane Simons. London: Methuen, 1966, p. 48.

91. For a critical evaluation of Nyerere's education policy; see, Philip Foster. "Education for Self-Reliance: A Critical Evaluation" in Education in Africa: Research and Action. Edited by Richard Jolly, Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1969, pp. 81-102.

92. Idrian Resnick. "Tanzania Educates for a New Society". Africa Report, 1, 1971, p. 116.

93. J.K. Nyerere. "Our Education Must be for Liberation". Op. cit., p. 5.

94. For details on the aims of Primary Education in Tanzania, see: Joseph Elstgeest. "Primary Education: Revolution for Self-Reliance". In Tanzania: Revolution by Education, op. cit. Also see: F. Branfman. "Some Suggestions Concerning the Teaching of Agriculture in Tanzania Primary School", in Socialism in Tanzania, op. cit.

95. M. Mbilinyi. "Contradictions in Tanzanian Education Reform", op. cit., p. 224.

96. Ibid, pp. 201 ff.

[97] A number of articles have been written on this subject. For example,

Joel Samoff, "Education in Tanzania: Class Formation & Reproduction", The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, No. 1, (1979), pp. 47-69.

Marjorie Mbilinyi, "The Problem of Unequal Access to Primary Education in Tanzania", Rural Africana, Vol. 25 (Fall, 1974), p. 5-28.

Marjorie Mblinyi, "Peasants Education in Tanzania", The African Review, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1976), pp. 167-253.

[98] J.K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, op. cit., p. 60.

[99] P.J. McGowan & H. Wacirah, "Tanzanian Political Leadership" African Studies Review, Vol. 17, No. 1 (April 1974), p. 190.

[100] Rayah Feldman, "Rural Social Differentiation & Political Goals in Tanzania", Beyond the Sociology of Development: Economy & Society in Latin America and Africa (London, 1975), pp. 154-182.

[101] D.R. Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case. (Montreal: McGill-Queen University Press, 1976) p. 221.

[102] Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Peasants Education in Tanzania", op. cit., p. 178.

[103] J.K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, op. cit., p. 54-56.

[104] Joel Samoff, "Education in Tanzania: Class Formation & Reproduction", op. cit., p. 47.

[105] M. Mbilinyi, "Peasants Education in Tanzania", op. cit., p. 180-186.

[106] For further reading on empirical documentation of unequal access to education see:

L.F.B. Dubbeldam, The Primary School and the Community in Mwanza District, Tanzania. (Groningen: Walters-Noordhoff Publishing) 1970.

M. Mbilinyi (ed.), "Who Goes to School in East Africa? Access to Schooling and the Nature of the Schooling Process." (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaamm Department of Education, Mimeo, 1976).

Manuel Bottlieb, "The Extent and Character of Differentiation in Tanzanian Agricultural and Rural Society, 1967-1969", African Review

Vol. 3, No. 2 (1973), pp. 241-261.

107 M. Mbilinyi, "Peasants Education in Tanzania", op. cit., p. 180.

108 The Community Education Centres have been established in eight centres, four in Dogoma District and four in Kigoma District.

109 For some further study of the concept of the Community School in Tanzania, see: J. Wood, "The Community School in Tanzania" Teachers Education in New Countries (May, 1969); S. Toroka, "Education for Self-Reliance -- The Litowa Experiments", Mboni Vol.11(May 1968): R. Lewin, "Education in the Ujamaa Village", Mboni No. 8 (Feb. 1968).

110 M. Mbilinyi, "Peasants Education in Tanzania", op. cit., p. 178.

111 See African Studies Review, vol. 15, no. 1 (1968), pp. 192-195.

112 See B.L. Mwobahe & M.J. Mbilinyi (ed.), Challenge of Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam, Institute of Education, 1975).

113 See, The Musoma Resolutions: Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance. The Musoma Resolutions is the Proceedings of TANU National Executive Committee held at Musoma, November, 1974. The African Review, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1976, pp. 103-112.

114 M. Mbilinyi. "Contradictions in Tanzanian Education Reform". See, African Socialism in Practice: The Tanzanian Experience, edited by Andrew Coulson. (Spokesman Nothingham, 1979), p. 222.

115 M. Mbilinyi, Ibid.

116 M. Mbilinyi, Ibid.

117 See, D.R. Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa ... Op. Cit., p. 222. Also see "Education and Political Socialization", chapter 9, Ibid.

118 R.S. Peters. "The Paradox of Moral Education" in Moral Education in a Changing Society. W.R. Niblett (ed.), London: Faber, 1963, pp. 46-65.

119 R.S. Peters. Ethics and Education. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966; p. 314.

120 It is not being implied here that Nyerere may have read R.S. Peters. The emphasis is on parallel thinking instead of Nyerere deriving his ideas from R.S. Peters or other European philosophers.

121 M. Mbilinyi. "Contradictions in Tanzanian Education Reform". Op. cit., p. 226.

122 John Wilson. "Education and Indoctrination" in Aims in Education: The Philosophical Approach. T.H.B. Hollins (ed.), Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964. Also see: R.F. Atkinson. "Instruction and Indoctrination" in Philosophical Analysis of Education. R.D. Archambault (ed.), London: Routledge, 1965.

123 Thomas F. Green. "A Topology of the Teaching Concept". Studies in Philosophy and Education, Vol. 3, No. 4, Winter 1964.

124 J.P. White. "Indoctrination" in The Concept of Education. R.S. Peters (ed.), op. cit.

125 I.A. Snook. "Indoctrination and Education" in Concepts of Indoctrination, edited by I.A. Snook, op. cit.

126 Anthony Flew. "What is Indoctrination" in Studies in Philosophy and Education, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1966; p. 390.

127 See, M. Mbilinyi. Op. cit, African Review, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1976, pp. 171-172.

128 Most of the curriculum development work is being directed from: Bagamoyo National Education Orientation Centre. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education. Also see M. Mbilinyi. "Contradictions in Tanzanian Education Reform". Op. cit., p. 222.

129 See, Chapters 3 and 4, Ibid., also Chapter 7.

130 Apart from Public Schools, private primary schools have flourished in Tanzania. Exorbitant school fees are paid in these private schools, hence only the children of the rich attend private schools whose sole aim is to prepare students for tertiary entrance.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In what sense is Juluis Nyerere to be considered a philosopher? What is the philosophical contribution he has made in clarifying for the people of Tanzania some of the pressing problems of the time ? In this concluding chapter an attempt is made to answer the two questions posed above and to relate both questions to the specific area of educational theory and practice in Tanzania.

The total body of Nyerere's writings is enormous, but it is also unsystematic. Nyerere does not make any pretence to being technically philosophical in any of his writings. Yet he does try in all of his works to clarify the pressing problems of the time. This way he fulfills one of the many tasks of a philosopher.[1] One might call Nyerere an "operational" philosopher.[2] Unlike the conventional academic approach to philosophy, Nyerere engages in an extensive inquiry into the relations between thinking and doing. At the completion of his philosophical studies at Edinburgh, Nyerere realized that the most admirable of human accomplishment was the kind of thinking which was capable of bridging the old chasm between the world of ideas and the world of actions.[3] Operational philosophy as opposed to bookish philosophy was Nyerere's answer to the above challenge.

Marx, Freud and Einstein, in a paraphrase of Anatol Rapoport, are not often thought of as "philosophers", at least not in the same way as Plato, Hegel and Bergson are. Perhaps this is so, argues Rapoport, because Marx, Freud and Einstein fixed their attention on

"events" (such as "price fluctuations", "impotence", "propagation of electromagnetic waves") instead of on "ideas" (such as "the soul", "the Absolute", "the Vital Force") as the philosophers who are universally recognized as philosophers did. Yet, continues Rapoport, there is an abundance of ideas in the theory of surplus value, in the notion of the Oedipus complex and in the definition of space-time curvature. The difference between thinkers like Plato, Hegel and Bergson on the one hand, and Marx, Freud and Einstein on the other, is that one can trace the ideas put forward by the latter to some sort of action or some set of "operations" both with regard to where the ideas come from and to what can be done with them.[4]

Nyerere treated, within a different context, the sort of problems which occupied Marx. Instead of focusing on the theory of surplus value, Nyerere's point of departure was the principle of human equality. His obsession with this principle grew out of observable events. Colonialism, racial discrimination, economic inequality and repression marked the society in which Nyerere grew to intellectual maturity. And he was quick to realise the intimate connection between the life of thought and the real life situation in Tanganyika. One of the fundamental tenets of Nyerere's philosophy was that the environment in which people think about their society influenced what they did (or did not do) about the society.

The socio-political structure of Tanganyika, before Independence, vividly characterized the story of man's inhumanity to man. Even when it seemed anti-establishment to insist on justice, Nyerere's lonely voice never tired of awakening the consciences of the colonial masters to the fact that the environment created by human inequality

in Tanganyika was hostile to human progress.[5] It was Nyerere's conviction that "man can only live in harmony with man and can only develop to his full potential as a unique individual, in a society which is based on the principle of human equality ...".[6]

In order to find solutions to the social and moral strife of Tanzania Nyerere embarked on a philosophical way in which intellectual advances are bound up with crucial and vital experiences affecting man's whole life. From this point of view, it could be rightly concluded that Nyerere thought of philosophy as an instrument of social reform.[7] He devoted most of his intellectual energies to finding rational explanations of the conflicts and practical issues growing out of the conditions in his contemporary society. As far as Nyerere was concerned, philosophy consisted of an imaginative blend of theory and practice. It was not sufficient to write a systematic treatise on the significance of "equality" while doing nothing to reform the unequal social order under which nearly nine-tenths of the population lived a life of abject poverty, while the few enjoyed their affluence.

In what way did Nyerere contribute to his people's understanding of the problems of man and society? Perhaps before answering this question it is important to stress the particular genius of Nyerere. According to G.L. Cunningham, "while it may not be very popular, and certainly not very Marxist to focus attention on one individual, it is undeniably true that the interest in and the curiosity about Tanzania, and the modest gains in equality, racial harmony, rural development, freedom of inquiry - all these are due to the genius of one man - Julius Nyerere".[8] There is a valid case for the argument

that it is Nyerere the theoretician rather than Nyerere the "President", who has captured the imagination of many researchers and scholars since the publication of Ujamaa: Basis of African Socialism in 1962.[9]

Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa is a unique African synthesis of man and society, aimed at not only arousing the consciousness of man to the evils of inequality and social injustice, but it also postulated a new socialist society as an alternative. From the traditional African roots, Nyerere derived and emphasised the three classic liberal ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity. When in 1962 he projected Ujamaa as an "attitude of mind", Nyerere was in fact dealing with the problems of self-esteem, responsibility, cooperation, the purpose of wealth, and so on, at a philosophical level. Then in 1967, after the Arusha Declaration, Ujamaa proceeded from an attitude of mind to concrete action to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Nyerere's concept of Ujamaa as practicalized in the Arusha Declaration affirmed the idea that no man should be exploited by another.

Nyerere's work ethic stressed the obligation to work; its philosophical premise was that it was only through frugality and work by every ablebodied person that the socialist dream could be a reality. The aim of Nyerere's work ethic was to create a people who would effectively contribute to the socio-economic development of Tanzania and not be parasites who depended on the hard labors of others.

The dominant concern of Nyerere's communitarian ethic was to achieve a moral society, a society devoid of selfish individualism and committed to the pursuit of the common good. He stressed the need for the commitment of man to the welfare of his fellow man.

One of the central themes of Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa was the concept of self-reliance. As understood within the Tanzanian context, self-reliance meant reliance upon oneself for planning and carrying out behavior. It meant taking care of oneself and meeting one's needs and, in addition, self-reliance was considered as a guideline for the individual's relations with other people.[10]

Nyerere deserves many compliments for trying to rejuvenate the African's traditional pride in himself and what he can do. More than any other intellectual leader in the recent history of Africa,[11] Nyerere has worked the hardest and most consistently, both at the theoretical and practical levels, to restore the confidence of the Colonized African in his own worth, in his African values[12] and in his ability to solve his problems.

Nyerere not only tried to contemplate the world but he tried to change it. In his effort to work out a new synthesis for solving the problems of man and society, he had to rely on his personal intuition coupled with the lessons of the past and the present. As he himself admits, "no blueprint can be drawn up for the future".[13] Although some scholars might hesitate to call Nyerere's Ujamaa a precise philosophy, it is no doubt a general guide to theory and action. Within the Tanzanian context Ujamaa no doubt provides a set of values and dimensions for consciously shaping a historical process.

However, there are some obstacles to understanding Nyerere's perspective because his philosophical thought is non-systematic and relatively unorganized. Perhaps the greatest source of contradictions in Nyerere's thinking is due to his romanticising of traditional

African society. Whereas he thought that Ujamaa could be built on social structures already available in traditional African societies, he argued at the same time, that the dismantling of traditional institutions to give place to modern ones was inevitable.[14] Nyerere called for a reconstruction of the traditional attitude of mind but he failed to provide a theory of historical change, such as, for example, Jawaharlal Nehru produced in his Glimpses of World History.[15] Nyerere has, furthermore, not provided his readers with a systematic account of how the transition to socialism (in its Tanzanian context) might occur. Neither has he dealt with the philosophy of becoming as it constrasts with the philosophy of being or the broader questions of dialectics and change, such as are treated in Engels' Dialectics of Nature.[16]

In spite of these deficiencies the author of this thesis agrees with the suggestion made by John Hatch:

> "It is true that (Nyerere) romanticized traditional African society, that his description of it did not entirely conform with practice in many parts of his own country, still less in other areas of the continent. Yet if his was not a strictly accurate historical description of Africa life it did contain moral, social and political concepts which most Tanganyikans recognized as ideals, even where they had often fallen short of performance".[17]

Finally it must be pointed out that some of the contradictions that arise in implementing Nyerere's Ujamaa policies may be attributable more to the opposition of the petty bourgoeis elements in Tanzania than to inconsistencies in Nyerere's thought.

Nyerere believed that the conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until one has defined

the kind of society one has in mind to bring about.[18] Ujamaa defined the type of society for which education had to prepare the youth of Tanzania. In other words, the philosophy of Ujamaa contained implicitly the core of what could be construed as Nyerere's theory of education. To bring about a socialist society required a revolution in values and attitudes and therefore a revolution in education. According to Nyerere education was necessary for changing the mentality which was the starting point for all work of socialist reconstruction.

In Education for Self-Reliance Nyerere provided the guidelines for an educational system based on the needs and aspirations of Tanzania and theorized about the means necessary to achieve these goals. In ESR Nyerere took the position that there should be a decisive relationship between the new socialist society and the school system. While rejecting the colonial educational policy which encouraged an attitude of inequality among human beings, Nyerere's new curriculum was designed, to induce the (a) attitude of equality and cooperation with other men on the basis of equality for their common welfare and the development of mankind; (b) to promote Tanzanian consciousness and strengthen African values, while reflecting the basic economic realities of Tanzania; (c) to create a new socialist man, who is liberated in mind, who submerges self in service to his nation and mankind, who is self-disciplined and who does not regard his education as a tool for the exploitation of others; (d) finally, the new curriculum was designed to encourage both intellectual and economic self-reliance.

Like his comprehensive philosophy of Ujamaa on which he based his theory of education, there are, however, a number of contradictions

between theory and practice in Nyerere's projected educational reforms. Perhaps Noa Vera Zanolli provides the most indepth analysis of such contradictions in his study of the educative process in the Ulanga District of Tanzania.[19] Among others he has observed that the idea of self-reliance, as conceived by Nyerere, has not yet permeated the schools, although efforts are no doubt underway.[20] He has also observed that the school children's impact on economic development is extremely limited if not non-existent.[21] Nyerere's frequent references to education as "transmission of culture" is an essentially conservative, indoctrinative approach. Such a view does not and cannot produce "critical thinkers" and "liberated citizens" which Nyerere in theory posits as objectives of the new curriculum. Furthermore, many Tanzanians still regard education as a tool for personal success in life; and identification, responsibility and loyalty, among many Tanzanian school leavers, are first to their families and then, to Tanzania. The youth of Tanzania according to Noa Zanolli:

> "feel loyalty primarily toward their families and clan; "Tanzania" for them is an abstraction, few know the country from their own experience. It seems, therefore, that more will be gained by appealing primarily to their commitment toward their families than to one toward their country. This appeal can lead to increased initiative for the sake of their families. It will be an added incentive for staying in their villages".[22]

Despite the contradictions inherent in Nyerere's educational theory and practice, it has nevertheless to be acknowledged that fundamental educational reforms have been implemented in Tanzania. These include a production component in all primary, secondary, and teacher-training institutions, the rapid eradication of illiteracy in many areas and the promotion of universal primary education for

all seven-year olds.[23]

It is the conclusion of this thesis that Nyerere has succeeded, to a very large extent, in his efforts to arouse the conscience of his people, especially through a reformed political education, to the evils of inequality and social injustice.

Footnotes

[1]Philosophers are far from reaching any agreement as regards what philosophy is all about. For an interesting reading on the tasks of philosophy see, Arthur C. Danto. What Philosophy Is. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 1-15.

[2]I have adopted the use of this word from Anatol Rapoport. See, A. Rapoport. Operational Philosophy. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 3.

[3]J.K. Nyerere. "The Role of an African University" in Journal of Modern African Studies. Vol. 9, No. 1 (1971), pp. 107-114.

[4]Anatol Rapoport. op. cit., p. 4.

[5]J.K. Nyerere. "The Race Problem in East Africa". See, Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 26.

[6]J.K. Nyerere. Freedom and Socialism, op. cit. Introduction, p. 23.

[7]John Dewey was a great exponent of the role of philosophy in practical social affairs. In Reconstruction in Philosophy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957, p. 121) Dewey defines philosophy as a "social method - a method of dealing with the social and moral strifes of contemporary society". It is this Deweyan notion of philosophy as a social method, flexible and concerned with practical human affairs that has been adopted in this thesis. This notion of philosophy comes closest to Nyerere's conception of Ujamaa Philosophy. For a good article on the role of philosophy vis-a-vis social reform see: Brand Blanshard. "Can the Philosopher Influence Social Change", in Journal of Philosophy. Vol. II (1954), pp. 731-753.

[8]G.L. Cunningham, see "Book Review" in Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1978, p. 316.

[9]The point that is being made here is that no scholar has taken up interest in Nyerere's Tanzania because Nyerere is the Head of State. I.O.W. Nyerere earns his merits on the independent basis of an intellectual genius, not as a President.

[10]Noa V. Zanolli. Education Toward Development in Tanzania. Pharos-Verlag Hansrudolf Schwabe AG, 1971, p. 30.

[11]We note here that there is a controversy as to whether Nkrumah's philosophy of "Consciencism" was in reality his own thought.

[12]The Formation of Operation Ujamaa (operation youth) in 1968, is a practical example of Nyerere's effort to encourage a return to African values. See The Nationalist. Dar es Salaam, December 30th, 1968.

[13]J.K. Nyerere. "The Future of Africa". See Freedom and Unity, op. cit., p. 116.

[14]M.M. Sauldie. "Recent Trends in African Socialism". African Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 3, 1967, p. 265.

[15]Jawaharlal Nehru. Glimpses of World History. New York: The John Day Company, 1942.

[16]Friedrich Engels. Dialectics of Nature. Translated and edited by Clemens Dutt, New York: International Publishers, 1940.

[17]John Hatch. Two African Statesmen, op. cit., p. 185.

[18]J.K. Nyerere. Education for Self-Reliance.

[19]N.V. Zanolli. Education Toward Development in Tanzania, op. cit.

[20]Ibid, p. 230, also see p. 220.

[21]Ibid, p. 223.

[22]Ibid, p. 222.

[23]M. Mbilinyi. "Peasants Education in Tanzania". African Review, op. cit., p. 173.

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